



The Antiquary.



OCTOBER, 1884.

The Hazlitts in America a Century since (1783—87).

BY W. CAREW HAZLITT.

PART II.

THE first object we saw here " [Weymouth], Miss Hazlitt presently goes on to say, " was a very large and old picture, in oil, of the meeting of Esau and Jacob. The embracing of the two brothers, the meeting of their followers on either side, with the groups of camels and other cattle, and the background, winding up between the hills, and seeming to vanish in the air, completed the enchantment. On this picture I used to gaze with delight, and wondered at the skill of the artist who had made so natural and lively a representation of the scene. But as John never copied or said much about it, I suspect it was not so fine a painting as I imagined. I have heard it was one of the first attempts of Copley; he was afterwards a painter of some note. He and West, who were both Americans, lived chiefly in England, and produced most of their works there." The house appears to have been commodious; there is a minute account of it, for which I cannot spare room; but the writer was particularly struck by a beech-tree in the garden, which the humming-birds haunted for the sake of the blossom. "The house," she says, "stood in a most romantic spot, surrounded on three sides by very steep hills, that sloped down, just in sight of the windows, and were covered with locust trees.

"These trees grow to a great height, and their yellow blossoms (somewhat like the laburnum) perfume the air in spring. On the green before the door stood a solitary pear-tree, beyond the shade of which, in the hot

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days, William was not allowed to go until four o'clock, when the sun was in some sort shaded by the neighbouring hills. On the pales that inclosed this sloping green, the woodpeckers were wont to sit, and make a noise with their bills like a saw. Beyond the garden and lane was a large meadow, which in the summer evenings, with its myriads of fire-flies, made a brilliant appearance.

"On a little low hill to the eastward stood the house of prayer, and below it Dr. Infts's, the road to Boston passing close by them; to the north King-Oak Hill, which in the winter, when covered with snow, reflected the golden and purple tints of the setting sun. Over this hill the road leading to Hingham was seen. How often have we stood at the window looking at my father, as he went up this road, with William, in his nankeen dress, marching by his side like one that could never be tired. The hills behind the house are very steep, and it was one of our childish exploits, when they were covered with ice, to climb up and write our names on the frozen snow. From the top of these hills we had a distant view of the bay of Boston and many of its islands and the hills beyond it, with Dorchester heights, famous for the Battle of Kegs; Bunker's Hill, where so many British officers fell in the space of five minutes, singled out by the sharp-shooters of the Yankees; to the south, dark and frowning woods, and nearer to us the river, with a mill and two houses on its banks, and a variety of meadows, fields and trees below. Here also was seen the house of Captain Whitman, a good friend of ours. He was so fond of William that the boy spent half his time in going with him to the woods, or to the fields, to see them plough, or attending the milking of the cows, where I too was often present. . . . We paid frequent visits to Mrs. Whitman, and were always glad to see her and her niece Nelly, when they came to us at three in the afternoon and brought their work with them. A bright wood fire, and a clean hearth to bake the Johnny cakes on (cakes made of Indian flour without yeast and baked on a pewter plate before the fire), were always prepared on the occasion. . . .

"General Lovell lived in Weymouth. He and Captain Whitman, like many of the American officers, after the war was over,

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retired to their farms, which in general were large, cultivating them with care, and sometimes guiding the plough with their own hands, and thus not only directing their servants, but giving them an example of industry. . . .

"In the summer a variety of little birds flew about us, humming-birds of five or six different kinds, some of them brown, others of different colours, all of them very small, with a body an inch and a half in length, and a bill like a coarse needle, which served them to suck the honey out of the flowers. But the most beautiful were dressed in purple, green and gold, crimson, and a mixture of white and a little black about the head.

"Some of this sort used to enliven us by their visits to the peach-tree, and it was one of them that flew into the window, to his own great discomfiture. Besides the birds common to Europe, there are many others. The blue bird of a pale sky colour, the scarlet bird, whose name tells of her bright plumage, and the fire-hang-bird, so called from her colour and the curious way in which she hangs her nest at the end of a bough, suspended by a string of her own making. This, it is said, she does to protect her young from the monkeys. It is also a protection against the boys, for the bough chosen is too small to bear the least weight. This bird differs from the scarlet bird in having some black under its wings. There is also the mocking-bird, who delights in imitating every note he hears; the Bob Lincoln, a very pretty singing bird; the red linnet, the Virginia nightingale, and the king-bird from whom the hawk is glad to escape; the little snow bird, and many others that I forget. The swallows are of a brighter purple than ours. The robins are much larger, but their notes and colour the same.

"This winter was also a very severe one, and my father spent it chiefly in going to and from Boston, where he was engaged to give lectures on the evidences of Christianity, the same that he had delivered at Philadelphia the winter before. And here also they were attended with great success. It was fifteen miles, and he was often obliged to walk through the snow. But he thought no labour or fatigue too much in the cause he had so much at heart. Once he and John set out to walk in a most tremendous rain.

"I do not recollect my father preaching at Weymouth more than once, and when he was with us on Sunday we had service at home. The congregation there was large, and they were Presbyterians of the old orthodox stamp. Calvin, and the kirk of Scotland, had settled the faith of two out of three of the American churches at that period. There were but few Episcopalians, and their churches but poor buildings, and often without steeples or trees, while the popular party had both. There were many Quakers (but not so many as in Pennsylvania), and here and there a very few Catholics.

"When the snow and ice melted, the lowlands were threatened with a deluge, but as I remember no damage that ever happened from these thaws, I suppose they were properly guarded against. Here is also, about February, what they call a middle thaw, when the weather is mild for a week or two and the snow seems to have vanished. Yet to this other and deeper snows succeed, and the frost is as sharp as ever. This winter the melted snow ran into our washhouse, and froze so hard that my father and John were obliged to cut it up with axes in pieces of half-a-foot thick, and throw it out.

"My father often went to Hingham to preach for Mr. [Ebenezer] Gay, a very pleasant old man above ninety years of age. He was fond of a good story, and used to tell with great glee how he cured a man of a propensity to steal. It seems this man was in the habit of making free with his master's hay, which Mr. Gay suspecting, he one evening took his pipe in his mouth, and standing behind the stable door, softly shook out the ashes of his pipe on the hay the man was carrying away on his back, and as soon as he got out the fresh air kindled it into a flame, at which the poor fellow was so much terrified that he came the next morning to confess his trespass, saying that fire came down from heaven to consume his stolen hay, and promised never to steal again. This promise he faithfully kept, and though Mr. Gay, in compassion to his fears, kindly explained the matter to him, he never could believe but that a fire from above had fallen on him.

"Hingham is twenty miles from Boston, and five from Weymouth. Here my father met with society quite to his mind.

"My father often spoke of the numbers of fine-looking old men, between eighty and ninety, that attended that meeting and sat together before the pulpit. This congregation was very large, but in a place where there was no other church, and where none but the sick or infirm absented themselves from public worship, five or seven hundred people being assembled together is nothing extraordinary.

"At Boston, too, my father had many friends, among them Dr. Chauncy, a fine old man above ninety; he was cheerful, and retained all his faculties.

"In the summer of 1785 my father often went to Salem, where he sometimes preached for Mr. Barnes." But the English minister stayed with Mr. Derby, a merchant, and the son of an acquaintance at Hingham. William often accompanied his father in his journeys, and sat inside the pulpit with him while he preached. "John," she adds, "spent a great deal of his time at Hingham, where he painted many portraits, and perhaps some of his first pictures are to be seen there even at this present time." Mr. Hazlitt met in this neighbourhood, curiously enough, with two of the prisoners in whose cause he had interested himself at Kinsale, and they expressed the warmest gratitude to him. It had been wished that he should succeed old Mr. Ebenezer Gay at Hingham, but the latter declined to resign.

"This summer [1785] my father," continues our chronicler, "visited Cape Cod, and stayed there three weeks, but he could not make up his mind to settle in so desolate a place. It was a neat little town, inhabited chiefly by fishermen, but nothing was to be seen but rocks and sands and the boundless ocean. He took William with him, who, child as he was, could not help being struck with the barren and dreary look of the country, and inquired if any Robins or Bob Lincolns came there, and being told there were none, he said, 'I suppose they do not like such an ugly place.' Stepping into the boat, he dropped his shoe into the sea, which he lamented because of his silver buckle.

"It was while we resided at Weymouth that my father assisted Mr. Freeman in preparing a liturgy for his church, which had been episcopal, and furnished him with a form of

prayer used by Mr. Lindsey, in Essex Street Chapel, which they adapted to suit the transatlantic church. He also republished many of Dr. Priestley's Unitarian tracts, and many other little pieces to the same purpose, such as the *Trial of Elwall*, etc., besides writing much himself. These things took up much of his time, and occasioned many journeys to Boston, where John often went with his father.

"In the autumn of this year, Mr. Sam. Vaughan persuaded him to go to a new settlement on Kennebec River, called Hallowell, in the province of Maine, where Mr. Vaughan had a large tract of land and much interest in settling the township. This was in the midst of the woods, with a few acres cleared round each farm, as usual in all their new places, which, by degrees, are changed from solitary woods to a fruitful land. At this time the wolves were near neighbours, and sometimes at night would come prowling about the place, making a dismal noise with their hideous barking, and as the doors were without locks, and my father slept on the ground floor, he used to fasten his door by putting his knife over the latch to prevent a visit from these wild beasts. In this remote place he found a very respectable society, many of them genteel people. Here he preached a thanksgiving sermon which was afterwards printed at Boston. It was a custom in New England to preach one every year after harvest. He would have had no great objection to settling with these people, but it would not have been eligible for his sons. John's profession was not wanted in the woods, where good hunters and husbandmen were more needed. He therefore, after spending the winter there, returned to us in the spring; and he narrowly escaped being lost in the Bay of Fundy, to which the sailors, for its frequent and dreadful tempests, have given the name of the 'Devil's Cauldron.'

After describing a tremendous storm which unexpectedly visited them on the 1st April, 1786, Miss Hazlitt states that her father and mother saw the necessity of moving from Weymouth nearer to Boston, where Mr. Hazlitt and John had frequent occasion to go.

"Weymouth," she writes, "with its sloping hills and woods, beautiful and romantic as it was, yet had its inconveniences. The great-

est, the distance from the city; there was no market or butcher's shop or any baker in the parish, and only one shop containing some remnants of linen, a few tapes and thread, with a small assortment of grocery. Hard sea biscuits, butter, cheese, some salt beef and pork, were our winter's fare. In the summer it was better, as we often got a joint of fresh meat from some of the farmers, who would spare us some of what they provided for their own use. This, when not wanted directly, was kept by being suspended over the well. Sometimes we had barrels of flour and made our own bread, and when the farmer's wife heated her oven, she would kindly bake our bread for us, or anything else, so that, on the whole, we did very well, and thought not of the flesh-pots of Egypt.

"One day I observed the water in the well was red. I asked Mr. Beales the reason; he said, 'We shall have an earthquake soon,' but added, 'do not tell my wife.' The next morning, about seven, we felt a smart shock, but not bad enough to throw anything down; yet it made the handles of the drawers rattle. To the eastward it was worse, and indeed it came from the east. It was in February, and the weather was very close and cloudy, and not a breath of air stirring.

"New England abounds more in maize, Indian corn, than wheat, and in the country it is much used, and is not unpleasant to the taste, though rather too sweet; and it is very convenient, as it requires no yeast. Besides maize they have buck-wheat, barley and rye, and from the other states they have plenty of the finest wheat. With the West Indies they carry on a considerable traffic, exchanging their cattle and lumber for rum and molasses. On the Southern States the West Indies chiefly depend for corn and other food, and send them in return the finest fruit, sugar, rum, pepper, etc. I once saw a cartload of pine-apples, that were just landed in Philadelphia market, that were sold for a half pistoreen each, about ninepence.

"The woods are filled with a variety of game; the number of pigeons are incredible; and the wild turkeys are very large and fine, and their colours very beautiful, and they make a grand appearance when seen standing, being from four to five feet in height. They have also plenty of wild geese, ducks,

teal, and all the wild and tame fowl that we have in Europe; many kinds of parrots and the Virginia nightingale of a bright crimson, snakes and monkeys more than enough; foxes, wolves and bears, and the tiger cat, very fierce and strong for its size, about two feet high, I think. The moose deer is peculiar to North America. Once, while we were there, an animal they call a cat-a-mount made its appearance near Falmouth; it was said to be five feet long, besides, the tail was as much more; and it could mount trees, whence its name. It was hunted by eighteen dogs, killed six of them and got off. It was said that only one of these animals had been seen before. But no one knows what, or how many, unknown creatures may be concealed in those endless forests.

"In July we took our leave of Weymouth, where we had spent a year and eight months, and bid farewell to our good friends the Whitmans and others with whom we had begun a friendly intercourse, and left our romantic hills and groves, never to see them more; but we did not then know that it was a last farewell.

"We removed to a small house in Upper Dorchester. It was pleasantly situated, but not to be compared to the one we had left. It was five miles from Boston, and in the high road to it. In front, on the other side of the road, were some large meadows, and beyond, at the distance of a few miles, the blue mountains rose to our view. Covered with thick woods, they are said to be famous for rattlesnakes. It is observed that the rattlesnake is never found near the sea-shore.

"Behind, and on each side of the house, there was a very large orchard, and ascending a little way we had a fine view of Boston, its bay and many islands, the same we saw at Weymouth, but nearer and more distinct. To the eastward, Fort William and its light-house, and to the north, a vast extent of country; and behind the city the hill of battle, where so many fell in the beginning of that quarrel which in the end gave liberty and happiness to millions, who still regard England as the land of Father.

"The last summer my father passed in frequent visits to Boston, to Hingham, and to Salem. At length he made up his mind to return to England in the autumn, and try to

get settled before we arrived, and we were to follow him in the spring. O most unfortunate resolve! for but a few months after he had sailed, old Mr. Gay died, and Dr. Gordon came over to London to publish his book; and at either of these places my father would have been chosen.

"This last summer passed quickly away, and October came; and the time of my father's departure drew near. I recollect his coming to fetch me home from Boston, a few days before he sailed. He talked to us of our separation and the hope of meeting again, and charged me above all things to be careful of, and attentive to, my mother, and endeavour by every means in my power to keep up her spirits and soften every care.

"From my father's journal it appears that he sailed from the Long Wharf, Boston, on the 23rd October [1786], on board the *Rebecca*." His son John saw him off. He describes the passage to England as terrible. The vessel did not sight Plymouth till the 9th December, but did not make for it. On the 14th, after beating about, and a good deal more heavy weather, the *Rebecca* was in sight of Dover at noon. Mr. Hazlitt spent nine months in London, at the house of his old and good friend, Mr. David Lewis.

After his father's departure John Hazlitt was busy in the pursuit of his professional studies, and our narrative says that he painted a picture of two wild turkeys for Mr. Vaughan, to send to Germany. He also taught his brother William Latin grammar, at first, it seems, not with much success, but eventually so much so, that William nearly killed himself through excessive application.

"Dorchester," she says, "was a very pleasant place to live in. It stood high, and commanded a fine prospect on all sides. We had some good neighbours, and were so near to Boston as to be able to go there at any time. . . . We stayed there until the summer, preparing for our departure. At the last, the time came, and there were some we regretted to leave, but from none was I so sorry to part as from Susan Butt. She was a good and kind-hearted girl, and much attached to me. She persuaded my brother to give her a picture he had done of me in crayons. . . . How often we have looked back with regret on the pleasant evenings John and I used to

spend with them [at Dorchester.] Our games and songs, and the tumblers we got in the snow, coming home by moonlight, when the rain, freezing on the ice, made the road slippery as glass. 'Twas then who best could keep their feet. How delightful a ride in a sleigh was then! How swift we cut through the air, going over hedge and ditch! For the snow made all level.

"This last Christmas I spent at Mr. Boot's. There we had a constant round of visits, and I was more expert at cards than I have been since; for I was pleased to do as grown-up people did, though often tired and weary of cards and sitting up late. Whist and palm loo were the games most in fashion; but chess was a favourite with all. . . . At the end of three weeks my brother came to take me home, and I did not see Boston again till the summer.

"On the 10th April this year (1787) a most tremendous fire broke out in Boston. It made a very grand appearance as we viewed it from the orchard, and, though at five miles' distance, the light was so great that the least thing was visible. The column of fire and smoke that rose to the clouds resembled a volcano. John got a horse and attempted to go in to assist our friends, and bring away anything for them. He soon returned, saying it was impossible to get into the town, as South Street, the only entrance, was burning on both sides. About a hundred houses were burnt, and a church. But the damage was not so great as we supposed. Some rum-stills had served to increase the splendour of the blaze.

"Boston is built on a peninsula, and joins the mainland by a narrow neck of land, four or, perhaps, five furlongs in length. I know not if it is a natural isthmus, or the work of man, but from the swampy meadows on either side I should think it to be natural. South Street is part of it. The bay in which it stands surrounds it on every other side.

"The entrance into the bay is defended by Fort William, and no ship can come into the port without passing under its guns. The government keep a small garrison here, and a chaplain. Mr. Isaac Smyth was the chaplain when we were there. He was in England during the war, and settled in Sidmouth, in Devonshire.

"Fort William is nine miles from Boston. The bay is very extensive, and contains many beautiful islands, most of them small and wooded to the top. Those we saw from Weymouth and Dorchester had two or three hills of a sugar-loaf form, adding to the beauty of the scene by the deep indigo of their firs, mixed with the bright and ever-varying green of the other trees. Perhaps when the country is more filled, these untenanted islets will be studded with neat cottages and farms.

"At Cambridge, two miles from Boston, there is a very flourishing college, and, I believe, it is the oldest in the United States. A ferry divides Cambridge from Boston.

"Boston is more like an English town in the irregularity of its streets and houses than any other that I saw on that continent. It had its government or state house, and other public buildings, and churches of every denomination, more than I can recollect. The people were then in everything English; their habits, their manners, their dress, their very names spoke their origin; and the names given to their towns prove that they still regard the land of their fathers.

"Beacon hill, just at the edge of the common, was a pretty object at a distance, and the house of Governor Hancock stood close to it. He was an old man then. His lady was of the Quincy family, but we did not know it then, though my father often visited at the house.

"The spring brought letters from my father, full of hope and anxiety to see us again; and with mingled feelings of expectation and regret we prepared to follow him.

"In June, [1787,] we left Dorchester, and spent a fortnight in Boston, paying farewell visits to our friends there. More than one inquired of my brother if anything was wanted by my mother for our voyage, offering to supply her with money or any other needful assistance. These offers were declined with grateful thanks, as we had money enough to take us home, and we trusted the future to that kind Providence which had guided and supplied us hitherto. After passing these last days with our friends in Boston as pleasantly as the prospect of so soon parting with them would allow, we went on board the *Nonpareil*, ready to sail

the next morning, the 4th of July, the grand anniversary of American Independence."

The home voyage was prosperous on the whole, although the vessel had to avoid the Algerine pirates, who at that time seized all American vessels which had not a passport from them. Among their fellow-passengers was a Mr. Millar, son of a farmer in Hampshire, of whom Miss Hazlitt tells the following story:—

"At the age of fourteen he had run away from home and listed for a soldier, and being sent off with the first troops to America, had settled (after the war was over) in Nova Scotia, where he had left his wife and children, and was to return there as soon as the object of his present voyage was completed. His chief business in England was to implore the blessing and forgiveness of his father, whom he had not seen since the day that his boyish folly had so unhappily estranged him from the paternal roof. We heard afterwards that his father had died two days before he reached home."

On Sunday, the 12th August, 1787, the Hazlitts disembarked at Portsmouth, and on the following morning set out for London in the stage. "On arriving in London," Miss Hazlitt tells us, "my father met us at the inn, and before I had time to see him, took me in his arms out of the coach, and led us to our very good friend, David Lewis; and from him and Mrs. Lewis we received the greatest attention and kindness. With them we stayed some weeks; but, my mother's health being very indifferent, we took a lodging at Walworth, and she was in some measure revived by the fresh air. This is near Camberwell, where your father saw the garden he speaks of in his works, and which had made so strong an impression on his young mind, and being the first gardens he had seen after our long voyage, were of course doubly valued. After staying there a fortnight, David Williams proposed our taking part of a house in Percy Street, which was to be had cheap, as it would be more convenient for my father to attend to anything that might occur. Here we stayed eleven weeks, and my grandmother came up from Wisbeach to see us. She stayed with us a month. She could walk about two miles, yet she must have been eighty-four at that time, and she lived

about fourteen years after. This was a meeting she at one time did not hope for, as she was very old when we went to America, and our return to England was not intended. I never saw her after this time, but my mother paid her a visit of nine weeks in 1792. She died at my Uncle Loftus's house at Peterborough in 1801."

Of the subsequent history of the Rev. Mr. Hazlitt I need say nothing here. I collected on that subject all that I could while I was engaged in preparing the *Memoirs* of my grandfather, a work for which I have accumulated very large and valuable new material, since the first edition appeared nearly twenty years ago. All that I proposed to myself at the present moment was to present a remarkable episode in a long and tranquil career, and an episode which must be of course treated as forming part of the biography of a son more illustrious, not more noble.

The contents of the little volume before me, beyond the American experiences of the Hazlitts from 1783 to 1787, are, it must be frankly owned, of interest solely inasmuch as they supply or correct certain dates and other items in the earlier history of our family, and elucidate two or three hitherto obscure points in the youth of my grandfather.



The House of Lords.

PART IV.—THE TRANSITION FROM TENURE TO WRIT.

BY J. HORACE ROUND.

WITH every facility at their command, and with every wish to do justice to their subject, the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer are compelled to confess, in the first of their voluminous and admirable reports,—

That after all the exertions of the former committees, as well as of the present committee, the subject has appeared to be so involved in obscurity that they have been unable to extract from the materials to which they have had recourse any conclusions perfectly satisfactory to their minds. At different times, and with different views, men of considerable talents and learn-

ing (some of them peculiarly qualified for the task by their previous studies and employments), have used the greatest industry in investigating the subject; but, unfortunately, they have in general adopted certain positions, which they have sought to prove, and have suffered themselves to be misled in many instances by the influence of party and the eagerness of controversy.*

And they close that Report with these words:—

They are conscious of many defects, and fear there may be many inaccuracies in what they now offer, and they are disposed to consider this report as rather leading the members of the House to satisfy themselves by their own exertions on points which may be the subject of doubt or difficulty, than as affording all the materials necessary to remove doubt and difficulty on these points, with respect to which there may be found sufficient authority for the purpose; at the same time showing that it is highly probable that no exertion can now obtain all the information necessary to remove all doubt and difficulty on a subject apparently involved in great obscurity.†

Hallam also, in entering on an investigation of the same subject, pronounces it, with truth, "exceedingly important, but more intricate and controverted than any other."‡ Nor could anyone be more conscious than myself of the difficulties that surround on every side the origin and the development of the House of Lords. I would therefore disclaim, at the outset, for my conclusions, any pretensions to finality, especially where they are of an original character, based on my independent investigations.

It is impossible, moreover, within the limits of an article, to do more than generalise on so wide a subject, or to argue out each disputable point. Mr. Gomme has set us, in his introductory paper, a model of the treatment required,—broad, lucid, historical, and, above all, scientific.

With him, I would insist on "a wide divergence" between the "two schools—the legal and the archaeological," of which the former, from necessity and from natural tendency, has exercised, in my opinion, so injurious an influence on the study of our constitutional antiquities. Nowhere is that divergence more apparent than in the treatment of such a subject as I am about to discuss, a period of *transition*, where the same words have differ-

* 1st Report (25th May, 1820), p. 14.

† *Ib.*, p. 448.

‡ *Middle Ages* (1860), iii., 4.

ent meanings not only at different periods, but even at one and the same period, and thus refuse to be bound and fettered within the narrow and misleading limits of legal definition.

I take as my starting-point the Norman Conquest. In so doing I am well aware that I am somewhat at variance with the historical school, as represented by Dr. Stubbs and Professor Freeman; and still more with the archaeological, as represented by Mr. Gomme. Yet, that, in this matter, the Norman Conquest did make a distinct break in the continuity of our historical development; that the history of the House of Lords can be traced uninterruptedly back to the Norman Conquest, and (uninterruptedly) no further; that an absolutely new and fundamental principle was introduced at this point, and that from this principle all that follows can be deduced—all this I hold to be capable of absolute demonstration.

I would invite attention to four changes which distinguish the Assembly after, from the Assembly before the Conquest. (1) In *name*: the "Witenagemot" is replaced by the "curia" or "concilium." (2) In *personnel*: the "Witan" are replaced by "Barones." (3) In *nationality*: the Englishmen are replaced by Normans. (4) In *qualification*: "wisdom" is replaced by "tenure."

It is in the fourth and last of these changes that the vital distinction is to be sought.

For what was the Witenagemot itself on the eve of the Norman Conquest? For the answer of this question we naturally turn to the works of those recognised authorities on the political and constitutional history, respectively, of that period—I mean Professor Freeman and Dr. Stubbs. Now even the former, with his democratic bias, recognises it as at that time "an aristocratic body, . . . a small official or aristocratic body." He adds that "the common title of those who compose it is simply the *Witan*, the *Sapientes* or *Wise Men*," and that "we find no trace of any property qualification."*

It is similarly proclaimed by Dr. Stubbs that "the members of the assembly were the wise men, the *sapientes*, *witan*"; and he further divides its *personnel* into two elements:

* *Norman Conquest*, 2nd edit., i., 102-3, 590.

(1) "the national officers, lay and clerical, who formed the older and more authoritative portion of the council"; (2) "the king's friends and dependents."*

But while, according to Professor Freeman, "we find no trace of nomination by the Crown,"† Dr. Stubbs insists on that power of nomination, and attaches to it great importance, urging that, by its means, the kings

could at any time command a majority in favour of their own policy. Under such circumstances the Witenagemot was verging towards a condition in which it would become simply the council of the king, instead of the council of the nation.‡

Now, whatever differences of opinion there may be between these two great authorities, —differences which I cannot here discuss—they are both entirely at one with Kemble in rejecting what Professor Freeman terms "the strange notion of Sir Francis Palgrave, that a property qualification was needed for a seat in the Witenagemot." Yet Mr. Gomme would contend, on *a priori* grounds, that "every lord attended the Witan in right of the manors and villages held under him§—a fact" which may be essential to his own theory of the origin of the House of Lords, but which is absolutely unknown to our recognised authorities, and at direct variance with their conclusions. I must, therefore, respectfully decline to accept so novel and revolutionary a view until its truth has been established by unimpeachable evidence, or at least by a reference to something more authoritative than an allusion to an hypothesis as to the state of things long after the Witan had passed away.||

Let us now turn from the Witan to the council of the Norman kings.

There would appear to me to be three paths by which we may approach that difficult subject, the constitution of the National Council under the Conqueror and his immediate successors. We may either (1) examine that constitution at the point where it emerges from obscurity, and work backwards from that point to the Conquest. Or we may (2) collect from contemporary writers the re-

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 124-5.

† *Ut supra*.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., 140.

§ *Ante*, vol. ix., p. 50.

|| *Id.*

ferences to such councils as were held during this period, and draw, from the language employed, inferences as to their probable constitution. Or we may (3) investigate the Conqueror's principles of administration, and then, applying them to the circumstances of the case, and adjusting them by his political necessities, form our conclusions as to the course he would be most likely to adopt. And if these three different paths should lead us to the same conclusion, we may safely claim that such conclusion is not likely to be wrong.

Briefly pursuing these three methods, we obtain, as to the first, from Dr. Stubbs himself, when treating of the "gatherings of magnates" in the great council of the kingdom, the following definite admission:—

that these gatherings, when they emerge from obscurity in the reign of Henry II., were assemblies of *tenants-in-chief*, is clear on the face of history.*

And in another place he again observes that the national council under Henry II. and his sons seems, in one aspect, to be a realization of the *principle which was introduced at the Conquest*, and had been developed and grown into consistency under the Norman kings, that of a *complete council of feudal tenants-in-chief*.†

It is true that he regards this feudal ideal as having been less perfectly attained, and, indeed, only inchoate, in the days of the Conqueror himself, when he would assign to the assembly a constitution more nearly resembling that of the Witan. But as, from its introduction into England with the Conquest, the feudal system had to struggle for existence against adverse and disintegrating influences, we must presume that it would be more, not less, powerful under the Conqueror than under the second Henry. Whatever may have been, in practice, the composition of the Conqueror's councils, we must infer that, in theory, from the first they must have been composed of tenants-in-chief.

Dr. Stubbs' view is clear and consistent. He calls upon us to see

(1) in the Witenagemot a council composed of the wise men of the nation; (2) in the court of the Conqueror and his sons a similar assembly with a different

qualification; (3) and in that of Henry II., a complete feudal council of the king's tenants.*

And he similarly contends in his auxiliary work, that

although not, perhaps, all at once, the national council, instead of being the assembly of the wise men of the kingdom, became the king's court of feudal vassals,

and that, at any rate, by the time of Henry II., "its composition was a perfect feudal court."† The only point, therefore, that I question, is whether this court is at all likely to have been less feudal under the Conqueror himself than under Henry II.‡ Admit, as Dr. Stubbs does, the "different qualification," and the question, I would submit, is at an end: we have at once an assembly founded on *tenure*, that entirely new and distinctive "principle which was introduced at the Conquest."

Secondly, as to the constituents of the Council during this obscure period, slight as is the available evidence, it points to the same conclusion. The Conqueror announces himself as acting "*communi consilio et concilio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum et omnium principum regni mei*,"§ while the chronicler describes him as acting "*consilio baronum suorum*."|| In the charter of liberties of Henry I. (1100) the expression used is similarly—"communi consilio baronum totius regni Angliæ,"¶ and we shall see below that the *barones* were the body of tenants-in-chief. It is true that, according to Professor Freeman, "the body thus gathered together kept their old constitutional name of the Witan,"** but for this assertion he has no evidence, either from official documents or from Norman chroniclers. He takes the expression from the English chronicle, the compiler of which would cling to the term, at once from habit and from

* *Const. Hist.*, ii., 168.

† *Select Charters*, pp. 15, 22.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., 564. See on this point, p. 257, where it is contended that "the organisation of government" on the feudal "basis" was actually "*put an end to*" by "the legal and constitutional reforms of Henry II."

§ Ordinance separating the spiritual and temporal courts.

|| R. Hoveden, *Chronica*, ii., 218.

¶ *Select Charters*, i., 96.

** *Norman Conquest*, iv. 623; cf. pp. 690, 694, etc., etc.

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 356.

† *Id.*, i., 563-4.

patriotism. We have, indeed, a *reductio ad absurdum* in the fact that we might claim on the same ground that the true title of Pontius Pilate was that of "shireman" of Judea! Dr. Stubbs more accurately assigns to the assembly "the title of the great court or council,"* the title, in fact, which had been borne by the assembly of the Norman dukes.

Thirdly, passing to the policy of the Conqueror, it is now, of course, a recognised fact that it was essentially "a policy of combination, whereby the strongest and safest elements in two nations were so united as to support one sovereign and irresponsible lord."† But it is also a fact that, the Norman system originating as it were from above and the English from below—the former strongest at the centre, and the latter at the extremities—these "strongest and safest elements" were to be sought in the upper portion of the Norman body politic, and in the lower portion of the English. Thus it would be the object of the Norman kings "to strengthen the Curia Regis, and to protect the popular courts."‡ Consequently, the retention of the English Witan would not form part of the "policy of combination." The Norman *curia* or *concilium*, moreover, would derive, as we shall see, from the feudal lord its existence and its *raison d'être*: the Witan, on the contrary, derived their authority from comparatively independent sources. Here again, then, the former would be selected by the Norman kings.§ Practically, the policy of the Conqueror may be thus briefly summarised: to use his rights as feudal lord, to strengthen his position as king; and, on the other hand, to use his rights as king wherever he was weak as feudal lord. Now, turning from the two extremities of his administrative system to the two periods of his reign, we see how this principle must have worked. So long as his danger was from the resistance of the English, or the invasions of their allies, he would be found to rely on that feudal system which formed the tie between him and his scattered followers. But when his

hold on the country grew firmer, and he could set himself to check the feudal element, his government would then become less exclusively feudal. Here, then, we are driven to the same conclusion, namely, that the feudal council must have been introduced with the Conquest.

We may notice, at this point, the famous assembly of 1086, at Salisbury, because it has been vigorously claimed as a survival of the old national assembly of freemen. Mr. Gomme claims for it that

Here, indeed, was a great primary assembly, uninfluenced by Norman laws, and tradition has handed down through the chronicler Orderic that the number here assembled was no less than sixty thousand.*

But let us turn to the truly contemporary accounts, not to that so styled by the Lords' Committee,† and learn from them, as quoted by Dr. Stubbs himself,‡ the true composition of this assembly. It consisted of (a) the tenants-in-chief; (b) their own feudal tenants (*militēs eorum*), and of no one else. As to there being "no less than sixty thousand" present, that number, as Mr. Freeman reminds us,§ comes from Orderic, who bases it on his notoriously absurd boast that the Conqueror divided the kingdom into fees for sixty thousand knights ("lx millia militum."¶) This fact is of special importance as proving that Orderic is at one with Florence in limiting this assembly to *militēs*, and including no class below them. And the purpose of the assembly agrees with its constitution. The under-tenants swore fealty to William as their feudal lord—they became his "men" (*wæron his menn*)—that their lords, the tenants-in-chief, might not be able to claim their exclusive fealty, if engaged in rebellion against the king. Lastly, though we find Dr. Stubbs speaking of "the great councils of Salisbury in 1086 and 1116,¶ and even claiming such assemblies as one form of "the royal council;"*** yet Mr. Hunt has shown good reason for doubting whether the assembly of 1116 corresponded with the pecu-

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 356.

† *Ib.*, i., 444.

‡ *Ib.*

§ It will be observed that here I incline to Gneist's view (*Verwalt.*, i., 238 sq.), rather than to that of Dr. Stubbs.

* *Ante*, ix., 55.

† 1st Report, p. 34.

‡ *Select Charters*, p. 78; *Const. Hist.*, i., 266.

§ *Norm. Cong.*, ix., 695.

¶ *Lib. iv.*, cap. 7.

¶ *Const. Hist.*, i., 358.

*** *Ib.*, i., 564.

liar character of the gathering in 1086,* and, as to the latter, I find no evidence whatever that it can be described as, or in any way discharged the functions of, a "Council." This distinction is of great importance, as, had it done so, the royal council would not have been limited, as it essentially was limited, to the tenants-in-chief alone.

Two more points have yet to be noticed, as they seem to have been hitherto overlooked, and as they throw light on that important subject, the denotation of *barones* and *milites*. In the same passage in which he describes the gathering, Florence alludes to the great Survey: "*Quantum terræ quisque baronum suorum possidebat, quot feudatos milites*" (i.e., how many tenants they had enfeoffed). We see that the *barones* must here include the whole body of tenants-in-chief. When, therefore, he goes on to speak of those present at the Salisbury gathering as "*archiepiscopi, etc., etc., . . . cum suis militibus*," we understand that all the former are summed up in the class of tenants-in-chief, while the latter are, similarly, their feudal tenants.† And finally, when we compare the passage in Florence with that in the *English Chronicle*, we find the two classes rendered by "*his witan and ealle tha land-sittende men*," thus proving the very point I contended for, namely, that by "*witan*," in the Conqueror's reign, was really meant nothing else than *barones*, that feudal council of tenants-in-chief, based on the new principle of *tenure*, which, as Dr. Stubbs observes, was "introduced at the Conquest."

Thus, then, to resume the results of our investigation, we have seen that the old English Witenagemot was replaced under the Norman kings, and indeed, in my own opinion, immediately after the Conquest, by a feudal council, which though it might, in practice, bear to it a certain superficial resemblance, was based on a wholly novel and radically distinct principle, the principle of *tenure*. That council was co-extensive with the tenants-in-chief, the *barones regis*,

who sat in it exclusively as such. It will next be my object to trace the process by which that council was restricted in practice, and so, eventually, in principle, to one section of those tenants-in-chief, and thus to connect our House of Lords, as a baronage and as a peerage, with the *barones* and the *pares* of Norman days.

I shall hope to show, in so doing, that this great historic institution springs from a single principle, a principle to which its existence can be traced by overwhelming proof. And that principle is—*Vassalage*.

(To be continued.)



The Numerical Principles of Ancient Gothic Art.

BY CLAPTON ROLFE.

PART I.

NUMERICAL principle may be said to be the very essence of ancient Gothic art. We may perceive its influence not only in such work as Norwold's at Ely, or Prior William de Hoo's at Rochester, two of the most beautiful specimens of ancient Gothic we possess, but in the numberless old churches scattered broadcast throughout England, the designs of Churchmen whose names have long been forgotten, though their works live on in attestation of their piety and their skill.

It is surprising, and much to be regretted, that more attention has not been given to the subject in this age of Gothic revival. Our text-books on Gothic art say little or nothing about it; and it is only here and there that an antiquary can be found who has devoted attention to it. To suggest anything about numerical principle to the great majority of those who think they know all about Gothic is only to provoke a smile.

But although this is true enough of the majority, there are men who think differently. One of them, the late well-known antiquary Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, a short time before

* *Norman Britain* (1884), pp. 120-1.

† All the tenants-in-chief, I mean, were, as such, "*barones*." But those who enjoyed, in addition, an official dignity, as the Earls, Bishops, etc., would, of course, figure under those names in ordinary affairs of state.

his death, wrote to me on the subject as follows:—

I quite go along with you in your appreciation of numerical principle. I used the seven-method at Cleeve, and find it in a consecration cross at West Ham. The triple formula is self-evident in old plans.

This admission from so eminent an archæologist as Mr. Walcott is worthy of note. It is not the crude theory of a zealous young antiquary, but the conviction of an eminent man towards the close of his career,—a conclusion arrived at from life-long study and observation. Thus much by way of preface.*

In considering this subject we must bear in mind that church-building in olden time was a *science*, subservient to the science of theology.

Theology (says St. Thomas Aquinas) ought to command all other sciences, and turn to its use those things which they treat of.

It was the effort to build religiously, to make the science of building subservient to the science of theology, which led to that development of ancient Christian art that we call Gothic. The development was a very gradual one; but in the end the efforts of Churchmen were crowned with success. The Gothic builders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries accomplished what had exercised the minds of the Romanesque and Byzantine builders of the first thousand years of the Christian era, and what they but partially succeeded in effecting.

In Romanesque and Byzantine art we may perceive the germs of Gothic art, the application of numerical principle to the *general features* of a building. It was the application of the same principle to the *detail* of a building, as well as to its general features, which matured Gothic art; rendering it a style of Christian art the most religious, and at the same time the most beautiful, the world has ever known. In the one case, in that of these older styles, constructional features were mainly influenced; in the other, *i.e.* in the case of Gothic, the very ornamentation of the building, its mouldings and carvings and the like, were influenced in like degree. The one chiefly affected

construction; the other, both construction and ornamentation.

The mystical numbers which have exercised most influence in the development of ancient Gothic art are one, three, five, seven, and twelve—the numbers five and three in particular. Generally speaking, *one* is the numerical symbol of the Unity of the Godhead; *three*, of the Trinity of the Godhead; *five*, of Sacrifice; *seven*, of Grace; and *twelve*, of the Incarnation. These mystical numbers, therefore, symbolise doctrines—the five fundamental doctrines of the Catholic Faith; and the play upon them in ancient Christian art, whether Romanesque, Byzantine, or Gothic, has a doctrinal import.*

From the very commencement of the Christian era, religion began to exercise an influence upon the classic art of ancient Rome. In the age of Augustus, the art of Rome was purely pagan; by the time of Constantine it was almost wholly Christian. The change appears to have been brought about by the agency of numerical principle.

Mr. Fergusson writes, in allusion to this particular period of early Romanesque art:—

The fact seems to be, that during the first three centuries after the Christian era an immense change was silently but certainly working its way in men's minds. The old religion was effete: the best men, the most intellectual spirits of the age, had no faith in it; and the new religion with all its important consequences was gradually supplying its place in the minds of men long before it was generally accepted.†

Of the basilican churches of ancient Rome—the first parents, so to speak, of our Gothic churches—the finest of them all was ancient St. Peter's, erected by Constantine, *circa* A.D. 330, upon the site of the Circus of Nero, where tradition affirms that St. Peter suffered martyrdom. It was ruthlessly destroyed in the fifteenth century, to give place to modern St. Peter's; but before this act of vandalism was perpetrated, some measured drawings of the old building were made, and from them we may judge of its plan and design.

In the general arrangements of its plan, and in many of the leading features of its design, the play upon the mystical numbers one, three, and five, is very apparent. The

* I would also add, by way of preface, that I take this opportunity of drawing attention to the subject in print, having been asked to do so by the late Sir Gilbert Scott.

* As in sacred writings. Cf. Bishop Wordsworth, *Greek Testament with Notes*, Rev. xi.

† *History of Architecture*, vol. i., p. 400.

one Apse, a feature of pagan art, was retained.* Beyond this the Bema, or sanctuary, was subdivided into *three*, the central space being flanked on either side with a transept-like projection, divided off by an arcade of *three* arches. While beyond the Bema the main body of the Basilica was of *five* aisles, running east to west after the manner of the aisles of a Gothic church, and not around the four sides of the building after the fashion of pagan art.† Then again with regard to its design, the *five* entrances to the front, as also the *three* large single-light windows over, surmounted by *three* more in the next tier (much after the fashion of the Anglo-Norman work at Peterborough), indicate the influence which the Catholic faith was already bringing to bear upon Roman art by the agency of numerical principle to christianize and render it worthy of its sacred use.

A comparison between this old basilican Church and the Circus of Nero which it supplanted, and upon whose very foundation it was erected, indicates it more clearly. The design of the Circus of Nero, in accordance with the canons of pagan art, was based on even numbers. A play upon even numbers was indeed a first principle of pagan art. The Parthenon, for example, was an octostyle building, so named from the chief feature of its design, the group of *eight* noble pillars to its front. So also the famous temple of Jupiter Olympius was a decastyle building, so called from its *ten* front columns, and so on. Indeed this very nomenclature—distyle, tetrastyle, hexastyle, octostyle, decastyle, and so on—sufficiently indicates that a play on

* The early Christian builders did not discard every feature of pagan art; on the contrary, they retained those which were compatible with Christianity. For example, the Attic base moulding was never wholly discarded: it was simply christianized—reduced from four moulded members to *three*. In this latter form we meet with it again and again in ancient Christian art, as, e.g., at St. Mark's at Venice, as well as in the best and purest examples of Gothic art in old England.

† In Trajan's Basilica (see Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. i., p. 317) we have an example of the way in which the Roman Basilicas, or Halls of Justice, were surrounded on their four sides by aisles, or porticoes, as Vitruvius calls them. The Basilica at Fanum (see Wilkins's *Civil Architecture of Vitruvius*, Sec. III., plate 1) affords another example of this feature of pagan art. The early Christians deliberately discarded this *four*-sided arrangement in favour of a more perfect *three* or *five*-aisled arrangement of plan.

even numbers was a characteristic feature of pagan art.

Viewed in connection with this circumstance, the numerical principle of ancient Christian art—a play chiefly upon odd numbers—is the more remarkable. The builders of ancient St. Peter's had these classic canons to guide them in erecting this great Christian temple. They deliberately cast them aside, retaining only so much of pagan art as was compatible with Christianity, to work out a new style which would symbolise the Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of the Godhead, and attest to the cardinal doctrine of sacrifice.

So consistently did Churchmen work upon these lines in the ground-plans of their buildings, that every basilican church erected at Rome during the first thousand years of the Christian era was either a *one*, *three*, or *five*-aisled building. During this period there were just twenty-four basilican churches built at Rome. Of these, three had five aisles each, twenty had three aisles each, and one (Sta. Balbina) was a one-aisled building.

I must now pass away from Rome, to follow up this stream of Christian art in its further development elsewhere.

The *five*-aisled churches which Constantine erected at Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the former of which had its apse adorned, so tradition affirms, with *twelve* noble pillars; the churches of northern Syria built in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, all of which appear to have had either *three* or *five* aisles;* and the great monastic church at Kelat Seman, situated about twenty miles from Antioch, dedicated to St. Simeon Stylites, and erected, there is good reason to believe, in the fifth century—illustrate, one and all, how well the builders of ancient Christendom understood these first principles of early Christian art.

Indeed the work at Kelat Seman indicates in its plan and general design a numerical principle far in advance of anything we meet with in the work of this period at Rome itself. In plan, this monastic church forms a huge cross of the Byzantine type, with an octagon to its crossing exceeding in size the famous octagon of Ely Cathedral. The four

* In De Vogüé's work there are some dozen churches of this period indicated: one has five aisles, all the rest three.

arms of the cross have each *three* aisles, in all *twelve*, symbolizing with scholastic accuracy the great mystery of the Incarnation.* The eastern arm of the cross, corresponding to our choir, terminates with *three* apses, a further development in Christian art; while the central of these, round about where the high-altar stood, is lighted by a conspicuous group of *five* windows; each side-apse being lighted by *one*. This play upon the numbers five and three in connection with the altar shows a still further development, the import of which I can best explain later on. Suffice it to say, it indicates a scholastic accuracy of design rarely met with in such very early work.

The importance of finding these features in this early monastic church of northern Syria cannot be over-estimated. There can be no doubt whatever as to their genuineness, for the whole of the buildings remain, excepting their roofs, which have disappeared, just as they were abandoned in the seventh century, when northern Syria was visited with a Mohammedan irruption, when this ancient monastery was forsaken, after its monks probably had all been massacred. We have nothing in the coeval art of Italy or Rome to compare with it in catholicity of design.

But to return from the far east. The noble church of Sta. Sophia at Constantinople, built by Justinian in the sixth century, and, later on, that of San Marco at Venice, commenced *circa* A.D. 977, are both typical examples of the success achieved by the old builders of the first thousand years of the Christian era in their efforts to make the science of building subservient to the science of theology.

In Sta. Sophia we have one of the most renowned buildings of Christendom. Its design is unique; but those very features which render it so are unmistakably the outcome of numeric principle—the result of trying to eclipse all else that had gone before in symbolizing and dogmatizing the Catholic faith. And right well did the builders of

Sta. Sophia do so. Throughout this magnificent building mystical numbers are everywhere played upon. The *one* great central dome; the *five* apsidal terminations to the main body of the church (scholastically arranged as $3+2$); the *three* windows to the central or eastern one, with *three* more immediately over, and *five* lights over them in the semidome of the apse; the arcades of *three* arches each to the other apses, with arcades of *seven* arches each immediately over, and groups of *five* lights to each apsidal semidome; the noble arcades of *five* arches each on either side of the great central dome, north and south, with other noble arcades of *seven* arches each immediately over, etc., etc., will give some idea, when we reflect for a moment upon what each number symbolizes, how truly this great Christian church, one of the finest in the world, was built up, as it were, of the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith.*

It is interesting to note that it was in Sta. Sophia that the final scene in those long bickerings between Rome and Byzantium was enacted. On July 16th, 1054, the legate of Pope Leo IX. laid upon the high-altar of Sta. Sophia a writ of excommunication against the ruling Patriarch. The action which he took in return is historical. It may be that other reasons besides the *filioque* controversy induced the Patriarch to act as he did. It may be that he was well aware of a declension at Rome in these first principles of Christian art, now so apparent, corresponding in a degree to her declension in primitive orthodoxy, as instanced by the unauthorized insertion of the *filioque* into the Nicene

* Both ancient and modern writers agree that Sta. Sophia surpasses all other churches previously built. Evagrius speaks of it as "such a one the like whereof hath not been scene heretofore; the which so passed for beauty and ornature as may not for the worthinesse thereof sufficiently be expressed." (Lib. IV., chap xxx.) And Fergusson, "In fact, turn it as we will, and compare it as we may with any other buildings of its class, the verdict seems inevitable, that Sta. Sophia—internally at least, for we may omit the consideration of the exterior as unfinished—is the most perfect and most beautiful church which has yet been erected by any Christian people" (*Hist. of Arch.*, vol. ii., p. 450). My object is to point out, what these writers omit to state, *why* it is that Sta. Sophia is a nobler work of art than any other church previously built, viz., because these numerical principles of Christian art are more perfectly worked out in its design.

* The mystical number twelve in ancient Christian art is more generally made up of 3×4 (3 the symbol of the Creator, $\times 4$ that of the creature = 12 the Incarnation). Bishop Wordsworth says: " $3 \times 4 = 12$ is the blending and in-dwelling of what is Divine with what is created."—*Greek Testament with Notes*, Matt. x. 2.

Creed. At all events, the action he took is clear, for in Sta. Sophia, the very stones of which attested to the orthodoxy of his Church, Cerularius the Patriarch, in righteous indignation, hurled back an anathema against Rome, which shook the Christian Church as an earthquake, and finally, alas! separated her in twain.

Space will not allow me to allude to the grand old church of St. Mark's at Venice, and its marvellously symbolic plan. I pass on therefore to the final development of this numerical principle of ancient Christian art in the Gothic Churches of the Middle Ages.

Hitherto, *i.e.* for the first thousand years of the Christian era, Churchmen did not get very much further than the application of the principle to the general features of a building, as I have endeavoured to point out. There were many things, more especially in the latter part of the period, to account for this. The bickerings between Rome and Byzantium; the check to civilization in many parts of Europe by the irruption of barbaric hordes; and lastly, though not least, the general expectation of the Second Advent at the end of the thousand years;*—all these things retarded the progress and development of Christian art. At Rome itself the stagnation, so to speak, appears to have been most keenly felt, for throughout the whole of the tenth century there was but one new church (S. Giovanni in Laterano) erected at Rome. In England it was less felt. Archbishop Odo, we know, was at work about the middle of this century rebuilding his cathedral church at Canterbury, which looks as if the continental theory of the end of the world did not much trouble him. And St. Æthelwold, upon his promotion from Abingdon to Winchester, immediately set to work to rebuild his cathedral church also. These, however, were exceptions. There was not much church-building going on anywhere in western Christendom in the tenth century; and St. Mark's at Venice appears to have been the only church of real importance then built.

But, no sooner were the thousand years past, and it was found that the world still

* At the end of the tenth century all archives began with the words "now that the end of the world is approaching."

lived on, than a fresh outburst of religious enthusiasm followed. Monasticism advanced with rapid strides,* and with it advanced the science of church-building. The movement surpassed everything that had gone before, so far as the science of building was concerned. It brought about an entirely new style of Christian art, commonly called Gothic, through applying to *the detail* of a building the same numerical principle which hitherto had been mainly applied to general features only. The aim was a very high one, to make every stone in the building attest to one or other of the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith. But with such consummate skill and cunning art was this accomplished,—the basilican churches of ancient Rome sink into insignificance compared with the Gothic churches of old England.

It is quite impossible in brief limit to give an adequate idea of the paramount influence of mystical numbers in the development of Gothic art. The influence, as I have said before, did not merely affect the larger and more important Gothic buildings, such as York and Ely; it affected in like degree the design and detail of the smallest village church.

One of these small, and comparatively unknown, village churches I will now allude to, the church at Shellingford in Berkshire. This interesting little old village church is situated about two miles from Farringdon. It contains work of the transition period from Romanesque to Gothic; and it is the work of this period we must carefully study to understand aright the principles of ancient Gothic art. The church, small though it is, contains three doorways of twelfth century date, which have not only withstood the ravages of time, but happily escaped that still greater enemy of ancient Gothic art, the nineteenth century restorer. The three doorways remain just as they were built in the twelfth century; and their detail admirably illustrates what I maintain.

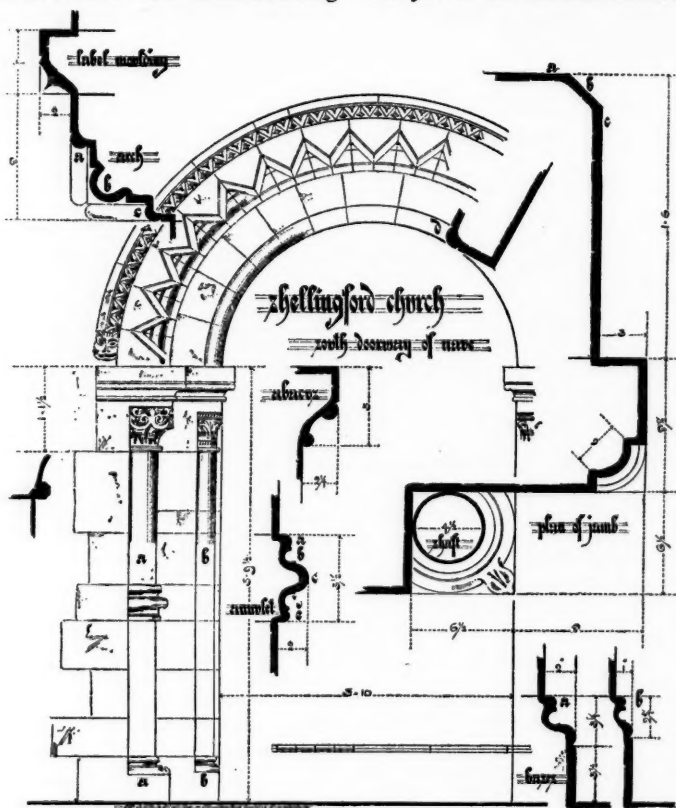
Fig. 1 shows the south doorway of the nave. In the base mouldings to the jamb shafts we

* Between A.D. 1098—1152, as the *Monasticon* states, no less than about five hundred Cistercian abbeys were erected. What was accomplished by this one order alone will give some idea of the advance monasticism made at this period.

may see the play upon the mystical number three; each base has its *three* moulded members, implying that the doctrine of the Trinity of the Godhead is the very basis of the Christian faith. Even though one of these bases, that to the jamb moulding B, has only the projection of an inch, still it has its three moulded members all the same. The next moulding

As the mystical number five, subdivided in this way into $3 + 2$, has exercised so powerful an influence in the development of Gothic art, a few words explanatory of the symbolism may not be out of place.

The subject is not difficult to understand. Just as the mystical number five typified *Sacrifice* in the ancient Christian as in the



which is *Divine*.* Hence the schoolmen of the middle ages, by a play upon these two numbers in combination, beautifully symbolized the *Divine Sacrifice*.

Moreover, this scholastic symbolism was not confined to Gothic art. We meet with it again and again in the old Sarum use. During the canon the priest, according to Sarum use, thrice made *five* signs of the cross at different parts of the service, and thrice also made *three*. And precisely the same doctrine was implied by the *five* inclinations of the head during the recitation (according to Sarum use) of the Nicene Creed, subdivided as they were into $3 + 2$; or, again, by the fingers of the priest's upraised hand in the ancient Western mode of blessing, *three* being upraised and *two* bent athwart the palm; or, again, according to Eastern use, by the bishop at the celebration of the mysteries signing the Book of the Gospels cross-wise with a *double* taper (*dikerion*), which he held in his left hand, and likewise with a *triple* taper (*trikerion*), which he held in his right;—all these, and many other similar liturgical uses of ancient Christendom, symbolize precisely the same thing, the *Divine Sacrifice*.†

But to return to the Shellingford doorway. Following upwards, we come next to the neckings of the carved caps (see Fig. 1). One of them is a simple roll moulding of

* Bishop Wordsworth says:—"From an induction of particulars it would appear that 3 is the arithmetical symbol of what is *Divine*."

† Nothing, however, so beautifully explains this ancient symbolism, and clearly indicates its doctrinal import, as the wording of the old liturgies. In the prayer of oblation, immediately after the consecration, commencing *Unde et memores, Domine*, five crosses are used, subdivided as it were into $3 + 2$, to enhance the mystical five-fold diction of the canon (the pure ✕ offering, the holy ✕ offering, the undefiled ✕ offering, the holy ✕ bread of eternal life, and the chalice ✕ of everlasting salvation), by which the *Divine Sacrifice* is described. We meet with this wording in all the old Sarum books:—"Offerimus præclare Majestati tue; de tuis donis ac datis; *hostiam pu ✕ ram; hostiam san ✕ ctam; hostiam immacu ✕ latam; pa ✕ nem sanctum vitæ æternæ; et ca ✕ licem salutis perpetuæ.*" In Leofric's Anglo-Saxon missal of the tenth century (Bodl. 579, fo. 64), the five crosses occur in precisely the same manner, though in this case they are written over the words *hostiam, panem, and calicem*; three crosses over the thrice repeated *hostiam*, and the other two over the words *panem and calicem*, which more clearly still indicates the doctrinal symbolism of the $3 + 2$.

one moulded member; the other, that to shaft A, is cut to show *five* faces, as the detail at side of cap indicates. The carving itself is just as cunningly wrought. *Three* conventional kinds of leaves form the chief feature of the smaller cap; while that of the other is a scroll ornament carved in low relief, in which the play upon the mystical number *five* is equally unmistakable. This conventional ornament was certainly not carved from anything in nature. It was the creation pure and simple of the carver's own fancy and originality to symbolize, by the *two* end scrolls superadded to the *three* central ones, the *Divine Sacrifice*. Devotion to the Catholic faith was the sole guiding principle of its design.

We come next to the abacus, which has its *three* distinct moulded members, as the detail at side of cap indicates. Upon the abacus rests the arch, which is indeed in point of symbolism the crowning feature of the whole design. It is of *three* rings or courses of stonework, as the jointing indicates, the label in this case forming the third course of *voussoirs*. Upon the first course of stonework *one* roll moulding D is worked; upon the next a chevron of *three* roll mouldings A, B, C (see detail), very cunningly wrought. So that upon *each voussoir* in the lower arch the Unity of the Godhead is set forth; and upon *every stone* in the arch above it, the Trinity of the Godhead. The symbolism is perfect. It is difficult which most to admire, the artistic merit of the design, or the skill by which Gothic art was made subservient to theology.

(To be continued.)



The Nevills of Raby and their Alliances.

BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

PART II.

RETURNING now to Richard de Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, we find that his eldest daughter, Joane, became the wife of William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. The arms of Arundel represented in the choir of Cottingham

Church were the quartered arms of FitzAlan, *gu, a lion rampant, or*, and Warrene, *chequée*. Boutell gives a representation of the shield of Radulphus de Arundell, showing these quarterings. William, Earl of Warrene, whose mother Alice was sister by the mother's side of Henry III., married Joan, the daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He died in 14 Edward I., leaving a son, John, who styled himself Earl of Warren, Surrey, and Strathern, and who died without issue in 21 Edward III. His next heir was his sister Alice, the wife of Edmund FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, whose son Richard married a daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. This Richard FitzAlan died in 49 Edward III., and his son, also called Richard, who succeeded him, was beheaded in 17 Richard II. Thomas FitzAlan, the son of the last-named earl, was restored, but died without issue in 4 Henry V., leaving his sisters Elizabeth, Joane, and Margaret coheirs. Of these sisters, the eldest, Elizabeth, was four times married, first to William de Montacute, the eldest son of William, Earl of Salisbury, who was "unhappily slain in a tilting at Windsor by the Earl his father," and secondly to Thomas, Lord Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. Joane, the second daughter, was married to William de Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, and Margaret to Sir Rowland Lenthall, Knight. The right to the earldom descended, says Dugdale, to Sir John FitzAlan, cousin and next heir male to Thomas, Earl of Arundel,

by reason of an entail of the castle of Arundel and lands thereto belonging, made by Richard Earl of Arundel (his grandfather), 21 Edward III.

That John FitzAlan died in 9 Henry V. and it was his son William, who became Earl of Arundel on the death of his nephew Humphrey without issue, who married Joane, the eldest daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury. He died in 3 Henry VII., leaving four sons and one daughter him surviving.

The second daughter of Richard de Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, Cicely, became the wife of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, and his sixth daughter, Margaret, married John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, for her first husband, and afterwards William, Lord Hastings. John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was one of the chief

adherents of Henry VII., and commanded the vanguard of his army at the battle of Bosworth Field. He died in 4 Henry VIII. The arms given by Dodsworth as those of Oxenford, although not very clearly described, can hardly be any other than those of the De Veres,* which are *quarterly gules and or, in first quarter a mullet argent*. The grandfather of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was Richard de Vere, who died in 4 Henry V. This Earl married for his second wife Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtney, younger son of Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, from whom was sprung John de Vere, Earl of Oxford in the time of Henry VIII. This was not the only connection between the Courtneys and the De Veres; as Isabel, one of the daughters of John, the seventh Earl of Oxford, who died in 1358, was the first wife of John Courtney, the grandfather of Hugh, the first Earl of Devon. The marriage of Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Salisbury, with John, Earl of Oxford, was followed by another alliance between the De Nevills and the De Veres. On the death of the last-named Earl of Oxford without issue, he was succeeded by his nephew John de Vere, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. In 18 Henry VIII., he died without issue, leaving his three sisters his coheirs, one of whom, Dorothy, became the wife of John de Nevill, Lord Latimer, but died childless. Moreover, the earldom of Oxford having descended to another John de Vere, his son and successor, who died in 4 Elizabeth, married Dorothy, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland.

It was mentioned that Isabel, daughter of John, Earl of Oxford, became the wife of John Courtney, the grandfather of Hugh, the first Earl of Devon. The arms given by Dodsworth as those of "le Conte de Demoffur" [Demossur?], *or, three torteaux, a label b*, appear to be those of the Courtneys, Earls of Devon, described by Edmondson as *or, three torteaux, a label of three points, each charged with as many bezants*. Hugh de Courtney, who died 19 Edward I., married Alianore, daughter of Hugh le Despencer, father of

* Banks (*Baronia Anglice Concentrata*, vol. ii. p. 176) mentions among the persons summoned to Carlisle in 26 Edward I. *Rob. de Ver, Conte de Oxen*.

Hugh, Earl of Winchester, by whom he had a son, Hugh, besides several other children. This Hugh became entitled by right of inheritance from Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle and Devon, to divers lands in this county, and in 9 Edward III. he was allowed to assume the title of Earl of Devon. He was succeeded in 14 Edward III. by his son and heir, another Hugh, who married Margaret, the daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. The issue of this marriage was a son, Hugh, who took to wife Maude, the daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent and Lord Wake, but died without issue in 48 Edward III., his father being then alive. The earldom of Devon was held in the reign of Henry VII. by William de Courtney, who married Katherine, daughter of Edward IV. By this princess he had a son, Henry, who succeeded him and was created Marquess of Exeter by Henry VIII. His great influence appears, however, to have caused the king much jealousy, and in 30 Henry VIII. he was beheaded, along with Henry, Lord Montacute, for conspiring the king's destruction. His son Edward de Courtney, who died in the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign, was the last Earl of Devon of that family.

It is related by Dugdale that so little did John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke (who owed his title to his descent from Isabel, the eldest sister and coheir of Aymere de Valence, Earl of Pembroke), regard Hugh de Hastings his next heir, and so much did he dislike Reginald, the father of Reginald, Lord Grey, of Ruthyn, who claimed to bear the arms of Hastings, that he entailed the greater part of his lands upon William de Beauchamp, a younger son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, and Katherine Mortimer. After a contest which lasted twenty years, the arms were adjudged to Lord Grey, and the entailed lands belonging to the old Earls of Pembroke, although claimed by William Hastings, great-grandson of Hugh de Hastings, were retained by William de Beauchamp. This William was made a Knight of the Garter, and was summoned to Parliament by the name of William Beauchamp de Bergavenny, chevalier, "being then possessed of the castle of Bergavenny and other lands which John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke,

had entailed upon him." His wife was Joane, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundell, and one of the sisters and coheirs of Thomas, Earl of Arundell, and the widow of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; by whom he had a son, Richard. This Richard Beauchamp, shortly after his father's death in 12 Henry IV., although then only fourteen years of age, married Isabel, sister and heir of Richard, son and heir of Thomas, late Lord Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, who was cousin and heir of Elizabeth, wife of that Lord Despenser. Thomas, Lord Despenser, had been beheaded in 1 Henry IV. for being a party to the conspiracy of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, and John Montague, Earl of Salisbury, to surprise Henry at Windsor. Richard Beauchamp was created Earl of Worcester in 8 Henry V., but shortly afterwards he died through a wound received in France, leaving his wife Isabel and an only daughter and heir, Elizabeth, him surviving. Elizabeth married Edward Nevill, a younger son of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, but all the manors and lands of which her father had been seised descended to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. This Richard, observing that Isabel, the widow of the Earl of Worcester, was a great heiress, obtained a special dispensation from the Pope and took her to wife. The shield of the Earl of Warwick shows this alliance. A representation of it is given by Boutell, who says that the Earl, on his hereditary coat, quarters Beauchamp with Newburgh, and upon this "for his countess, Isabelle, daughter and heiress of Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, he marshalls an 'escutcheon of pretence charged with De Clare, quartering Le Despencer—*quarterly arg. and gu. in the second and third quarters a frette or, over all a bend sa*"—which are the arms of De Spencer in the choir of Cottingham Church, as described by Dodsworth. Richard Beauchamp had by his wife Isabel a son, Henry, and a daughter, Anne, and by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, three daughters, of whom Eleanor married first Lord Roos and afterwards Edmund Beaufort, Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Somerset, and Elizabeth married George Nevill, Lord Latimer. Richard, Earl of Warwick, died

in 17 Henry VI., and was succeeded by his son Henry, who in 22 Henry VI. was created premier Earl of England and Duke of Warwick, and was afterwards crowned by the king's own hand King of the Isle of Wight. He died, however, during the next year, being then only twenty-two years of age. In his father's lifetime, when scarcely ten years old, he had married Cecily, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, by whom he left issue a daughter, who died unmarried, whereupon her aunt, Anne, sister of the whole blood to Henry, Duke of Warwick, and wife of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, became heir to the earldom of Warwick, which was confirmed to her husband.

We have seen that Ralph, Lord Nevill, created Earl of Westmorland by Richard II., had for his first wife Margaret, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford. This baron, whose arms were *or, a chevron gules*, being those given by Dodsworth, married the Lady Philippa, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the eldest brother of William Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, who succeeded to the lands of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. By his wife Philippa, the Earl of Stafford, who died in 9 Richard II., had issue Thomas, his heir, and three other sons, with several daughters, of whom the Countess of Westmorland was one. Joane, another daughter, married Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Katherine became the wife of Michael, the son of Michael de la Pole, to which Katherine, says Dugdale,

in respect of the low estate of him the said Michael, King Richard the Second gave fifty pounds per annum out of the Fee-Farm of Kingston-upon-Hull, to make up One hundred pound per annum, which was covenanted by her Husband's father to be settled upon her.

Michael de la Pole, the father, was in high esteem with Richard II., and in the ninth year of this king's reign he was advanced to the title and dignity of Earl of Suffolk, and he received, among other benefits, a grant in tail of lands worth £500 per annum, part of the possessions of William de Ufford, late Earl of Suffolk, deceased, namely, the castle, town, manor, and honour of Eye. These had been granted to Robert de Ufford for his services in the wars of France by

Edward III., who had previously created him Earl of Suffolk. He was succeeded by his son William, who married Joane, daughter of Edward de Montacute, by Alice, daughter of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, and died suddenly in 5 Richard II. without children, and leaving the issue of his three sisters his next heirs. It would seem, however, that this William married twice, as Dugdale states also that his widow Isabell, who was the daughter of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, died 4 Henry V., leaving Richard Beauchamp, then Earl of Warwick, son of her brother Thomas, her next heir. The arms of Suffolk mentioned by Dodsworth would seem to have been those of the Ufford family, *or, a cross engrailed sa*, but differing somewhat from those which are given by Boutell as the arms of Ralph de Ufford, the brother of Robert de Ufford, the first earl of this family.

Returning to Thomas, Earl of Stafford, we find that this baron was succeeded by his sons Thomas, William, and Edward in turn, the last-named of whom was in 4 Henry IV. slain at the battle of Shrewsbury. By his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, he had a son, Humphrey, who, in 21 Henry VI., was found to be the heir of Joan, widow of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. In 23 Henry VI., on account of his eminent services and his near alliance in blood to the king,* he was created Duke of Buckingham. Fourteen years afterwards he lost his life, fighting for the king, at the battle of Northampton. By his wife Anne, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, he had several children, and he was succeeded by Henry, the son of his eldest son, Humphrey, who had been slain at the battle of St. Albans in 33 Henry VI. Henry, Duke of Buckingham, became a staunch adherent of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and the principal agent in advancing him to the throne. Nevertheless he lost his head on the scaffold, soon after the accession of Richard III., for plotting against him in

* Edward the Black Prince, the father of Richard II., married Joane, the "fair maid of Kent," the daughter and heiress of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, and the widow of Sir Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent in her right.

favour of Henry, Earl of Richmond. His son Edward met with the like fate in 13 Henry VIII. By his wife Alianore, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland this duke of Buckingham had a son, Henry and three daughters, of whom Elizabeth married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Katherine married Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, and Mary became the wife of George Nevill, Lord Bergavenny.

(To be continued.)



Manx Legends.

I. HOW THE GREAT "MACABUIN" WAS DISHONOURED.

MANX bards have disappeared and show no signs of returning, a railroad now crosses the country, and will still further hasten the extinction of old legends. Before they entirely disappear, it may not be uninteresting to gather up a few of these tales, and notably we may take the story of Olaf Goddardson as a type of the mixture of fable and history of which they are composed. Their simple, poetical phraseology reminds us of Icelandic Sagas, and had Manx literature flourished, many more such tales might have been preserved, instead of the few broken links that have come down to us.*

Of Olaf Goddardson, history tells us that he was one of the most famous kings of the royal line of Goddard Crovan the Conqueror, that he was born about 1177, and was married three times. These kings of Man lived at Peel Castle, and a very pleasant place must have been this sea-girt "Holm Peel," for even now there is something inexpressibly grand and beautiful in the ruins that stand on the small rocky peninsula, jutting out from the mainland, which at high tide becomes an island round which the waves dash fiercely, guarding what was once a fortress, whose towers and massive battlements encircled a cathedral.

But if grand now, in the days of Olaf Goddardson it was in the height of its glory,

and it is no wonder that round this king, whose life was full of stirring adventures, should have been collected some of those wonderful legends so dear to the Northman's heart.

When only ten years old, Olaf's father died; there were two other sons, Rognwald and Yvar, but they were illegitimate; yet a child-monarch in those days was never welcome to turbulent subjects, so Rognwald made himself king without much opposition, and ruled in Man, not caring at all what became of the child Olaf. When this latter was of age, he begged humbly for some share of his rightful inheritance, but Rognwald, not wishing to surrender the pleasant castle or the fertile island, gave him instead the Isle of Lewis, barren, mountainous, and unfruitful, so that poor Olaf could find no means of sustenance for himself and his followers. He came back, therefore, boldly to Rognwald.

"Brother and Sovereign," said he, "you know well that the kingdom you possess is mine by right of inheritance, but since God has made you king, I will not envy either your good fortune or your crown. I only beg for as much land in these islands as will maintain me honourably, for upon Lewis I cannot live." Rognwald was cruel and treacherous, so he pretended to think the request natural, said he would consult his "keys" (*i.e.*, his parliament), and bade Olaf return the next day for the answer. Olaf was fearless and honourable, and thinking no evil presented himself the next day before his brother, whereupon he was seized, and taken to William of Scotland, to be kept a prisoner.

On William's death, at the end of seven years, Olaf came back to Man. One wonders that he was simple enough to trust himself again to his brother's tender mercies. This time Rognwald again bade him retire to Lewis, and also provided him with a wife, Lavon by name, his own sister-in-law; but the Church, then all-powerful, interfered, so Lavon was divorced, and "Christina," daughter of the Earl of Ross, was taken in her place.

More troubles followed between the brothers, sometimes one, sometimes the other gaining the upper hand, but on the whole the Manxmen sided with Olaf; and Rognwald, when he was driven away, was wont to make descents on Peel harbour, or Derby Haven,

* See article, "Isle of Man," in *Encyclopædia Londinensis*; also *Isle of Man*, by Rev. W. P. Ward.

and burn all the ships that lay at anchor. The chronicles, after minutely following and recounting all these vicissitudes, tell us that on the 14th February, 1228, there was a battle fought near the Tinwald Hill, the same spot where in this present time the laws are read out in the hearing of the people. Certainly that day Heaven defended the right, for by evening-time Rognwald lay a corpse, and Olaf Goddardson could at last reign in peace.

In 1234, history tells us that Henry III. granted Olaf a certain annuity in silver coin and wine for defending the sea-coast, which prosaic and businesslike transaction mingles curiously with the legends that surround the good king of Man, who, like Arthur of Britain, has his enchanted sword called "Macabuin," and his good enchantress "Ada."

This great sword "Macabuin" was not Manx-made, but forged at Trondhjem by the renowned blacksmith Loan MacLibuin, himself of royal blood. Night by night, for many a long month, he fashioned the weapon, assisted by the clever Hiallus-nan-urd, his hammerman, who, during the process, managed to lose a leg, which loss, however, did not seem to prevent him from taking long journeys, as we shall afterwards hear. Olaf had received the sword under one condition, and this was that its magic blade was never to be stained with common, low-born blood; so Macabuin was hung up at Holm Peel, more ornamental than useful.

In spite of precautions, however, a great misfortune befell "Macabuin," the Stainless, and it happened in this fashion. Kitter, a mighty Norwegian baron, having a passion for the chase, found his way to Man, and so eager was he in this sport that he nearly exterminated the bison and the elk which abounded there. The Manx were alarmed, and some of them betook themselves to "Ada" for advice—"how was Kitter to be prevented from his reckless chase?" Now that morning Kitter had left his fortress on the brow of South Baroole, and had taken with him all his retainers to hunt in the Calf,* except his cook, Eaoch, or the "Loud-voiced." Instead of minding his cooking pot, Eaoch

* The Calf of Man is an island near the mainland to the south.

fell fast asleep, and never perceived Ada stealing into the castle. She had come to revenge the Manx, so pausing before the seething cauldron, she muttered charms and curses till the fat bubbled and danced higher and higher, then out of the pot and on to the hearth. Here it set fire to the wooden beams, and soon the house blazed up.

At this moment Eaoch awoke, and gave such a roar of surprise and fright that the Baron Kitter heard it in the Calf, though it was nine miles away. He felt there was something much amiss, so rushing to the shore he seized an empty corragh, and with his men rowed toward home with all his might; but the enchantress's charm was working, the boat struck against a reef, and Kitter and all his retainers perished; indeed, to this day, you may see the spot which is called *Kitterland*.

Now all the blame fell on poor Eaoch instead of on "Ada," and the Manx, to appease the Norsemen, sentenced the cook to lose his life, and to be hung over the gate of Castle Rushen.

Unfortunately Norsemen had the privilege of choosing their manner of death, and Eaoch, claiming this right, said, "I wish my head to be placed transversely on King Olaf's knees, and there to be severed from my body by the sword Macabuin, that hangs in the hall of Peel Castle, and that was forged at Trondhjem by Loan MacLibuin."

There was a general outcry from the "deemsters," the "keys," and the courtiers at Eaoch's audacity, for they all knew that Macabuin would cut through a granite block, should it come in its way, so most certainly it would kill the king. They prayed Olaf to refuse the request, but Olaf had given his word, and he never departed from what he had said.

Now Ada, who had wrought all this mischief, was present, and taking pity on the sorrowing Manxmen, said,

Break ninety twigs from the rowan tree,
Bind them in bundles three times three;
Then gather in the pale moonshine,
Counting over nine times nine,
Toad skins, lizards, adders' eggs,
Which, placed upon King Olaf's legs,
Shall save him from the contact dread
Of Eaoch's false and plotting head.

All this was done the next day, with great

ceremony. Macabuin was brought, Eaoch laid his head on the king's knees, and the sword descended: in half a moment it had cut through everything except the adders' eggs; evidently Loan MacLibuin had never charmed the blade against them; they alone could resist the magic power.

In this way was good King Olaf's life saved.

II. KING OLAF'S JOURNEY TO TRONDHJEM.

Although Olaf had escaped death from the blade of Macabuin, he had yet incurred another danger, for in due time Loan MacLibuin heard what had happened to his work of many days, and he was filled with anger. Olaf, King of Man, had dared to stain the priceless weapon with low-born blood, so he called the one-legged Hiallus-nan-urd, and bade him go and take his defiance to King Olaf at Holm Peel. He was to challenge the king to appear as soon as possible at Trondhjem forge, and the cunning blacksmith knew well that the king never refused a challenge; further he disclosed to his hammerman what he meant to do when Olaf should be in his power, which disclosure pleased Hiallus-nan-urd, who was a heathen, whilst Olaf was a good Christian.

On his arrival the horseman delivered the challenge, which Olaf accepted with pleasure, bidding a pikeman bring him from among his Danish shields one which was of "two boards' thickness," and was of the same make and weight as the one which the hammerman carried.

On a bright sunny May morning, King Olaf and his companion sallied forth, having first provided themselves with salt according to the usual Manx custom. The northern portal of Peel Castle was opened wide to let them pass through, and descending some steep stairs, cut in the solid rock, they reached the water's edge, and it being low tide, crossed over to the mainland on foot. Then first they took the coast-road as far as Shergydoo, and then struck off into a footpath that extended for miles along the Cladagh, a dreary common, unrelieved by tree, cabin, or dyke. Wolves and bisons had formerly roamed here at pleasure, but Kitter had driven them away, and nearly exterminated them. Olaf, as he walked, bewailed the wild herds that in his

youth inhabited these regions, and especially he regretted the noble herons that were wont to fly slowly across the Cladagh.

At last they reached a deep, gloomy valley, strewn with black volcanic rocks, which made Hiallus-nan-urd shudder. He knew well that this was the abode of a wicked enchanter, whose huge castle was filled with evil spirits, and that whosoever entered the gate was immediately turned into a black rock, and hurled down into the valley, to lie there till doomsday.

But Olaf, though himself not altogether free from fear, was too good a Christian to show outward signs of it, and chid the hammerman, who was still gazing at the dark rocks.

"See," cried he, "I can surely recognize that great stone, it has the form and humped back of my foster-brother Sitric, who was lost on these mountains ten years ago next Oie'l Vayree.*

"I would I could remember good Bishop Michael's prayer against the evil spirits," sighed the king, "but it has quite escaped my memory—ah! what is that roar? surely it is Eaoch's voice I hear;" and hastily taking some salt from his pocket, he sprinkled it on the unholy ground according to the Manx fashion, and then walked on in silence till they gained the end of the narrow gorge that led from the haunted valley, after which they emerged on a smiling plain of cultivated ground dotted about with rude cottages.

This being May-day, buttercups and primroses, and crosses of mountain ash, lay on every threshold, to exclude the fairies from the homes of baptized Christians. But on the other hand the lads were busy collecting brush-wood to kindle the Baal fires in the evening. Good Olaf sighed over this heathen custom, whilst the hammerman, who was a heathen, muttered angrily as they passed a large bit of black barren earth where twelve Druids were said to have been burnt by order of St. Patrick. Olaf tried to expostulate with his companion, but he was not to be convinced, and presently drew forth from his bosom an amber bead, which he said preserved him from all harm far better than any Christian mummeries.

* Christmas Eve, an old name meaning "Eve of Mary."

Thus talking, they came upon Lough Balla, whose fenny banks afforded very insecure footing for the traveller. Hiallus-nan-urd with his one leg found the task very difficult, and, slipping, was precipitated head over heels into the black water, and would have been drowned had not Olaf rescued him; but alas! in his struggle to regain *terra firma* he dropped his amulet of amber, and set up a loud lamentation over his lost charm.

This lake has now disappeared, owing to the elevation of the land, but a deep bed of bog has taken its place, and offers a not much better footing for the wayfarer who may by chance wander over it.

As the two approached Ramsey, Olaf turned off the road to visit the cairn of the young king Fingall, "who fell boldly facing the foe" at the foot of the woody Sky Hill. The king, approaching the cairn, solemnly threw a stone on it in token of respect. Among the Scotch Highlanders there is a proverbial expression which alludes to this custom—"Curri mi cloch er do chorne," or "I will add a stone to your cairn," meaning, "I will honour your memory when you are dead"; and on the top of most of the Manx hills cairns may still be found on which the passer-by throws a stone, little knowing he is honouring the memory of some ancient Orry or brave Fingall.

Olaf rejoined his companion at *Glentrammon*, and here they examined the fortress erected by Magnus Barfod. Magnus acquired his surname by appearing in the streets of Trondhjem in a Highland dress, and was much laughed at for it, and surnamed "bare-legs," but Magnus made good use of these same legs, and his power was felt in Man and the Isles.*

King Olaf, thinking to please Hiallus-nan-urd, eagerly told him some of the wonderful stories attached to the great Norseman Magnus, the "Dragon of the Isles," as history called him, and how he compelled the men of Galloway (whose faint outline they could trace on the horizon) to supply him with timber and stones to erect this fortress. Nor did he spare the Irish, for he sent his shoes to Murchard, king of Meath, commanding him to carry them on his shoulders through his hall on Christmas day. King

* Otté's *Scandinavian History*.

Murchard was of a very humble disposition, for his only answer was that "he would not only carry them, but he would also eat his Majesty's shoes rather than the King of Man should destroy one Irish Province."

The travellers now reached Myerscough, which occupied the plain of the mountain. The evening sun sent its glimmering shadows over the water, on the surface of which lay three picturesque islands. On the first was the state prison, the second was a miniature paradise, the home of Ada the enchantress, who was much beloved by the Manx, in spite of her one peculiarity of never crossing the threshold of a consecrated dwelling. The third and largest island had once been the abode of the chief Druid, but it now lay desolate, the sacred oaks were uprooted, and no trace was left of the altar for human sacrifices.

But the holy Patrick, though thorough in uprooting the worst forms of heathenism, had not been so successful in eradicating the love of heathen customs, for as evening drew near the king was startled by a sudden outburst of blazing fire from every surrounding hill-top, accompanied by a peculiar kind of music, called "*Cairn tunes*," which simply meant songs in honour of Baal. All the Manx were congregated round the various bonfires, and now began to raise wild shouts as they darted about, flinging their arms round their heads like so many lunatics dancing an intricate chain dance.

After a time the music ended, and the people ceased dancing, for suddenly on a neighbouring hill appeared a man, dressed in druidical vestments, an oaken garland round his head, surmounted by a golden crown; on his neck hung the adderstone amulet, whilst the mystic bill-hook and divining rod were suspended at his girdle. In his outstretched hand he held a piece of bread, covered with a custard of eggs and milk. Then turning his face towards the east, he broke the bread, and throwing a piece over his shoulder, he cried, "This I give to thee, O storm, that thou mayest be favourable to our corn and pasture; this to thee, O eagle, and this to thee, O fox, that thou mayest spare our lambs and kids."

Hiallus-nan-urd was much interested in the ceremony, though he shuddered a little

with strange dread; but good King Olaf turned away pained, as he devoutly crossed himself, murmuring, "When will the people have done with these vain customs."

At last they passed through sea-washed Ramsey, and reached Bewaigne Point, and the night being clear, the king and the hammerman opened their leathern shields, got on them, and sailed away over the sea, and before sunrise they landed at St. Bee's Head. Then after four days' journey on foot they crossed the Tyne, and came to the sea coast, where Olaf hired a ship to convey them to Trondhjem, and after a prosperous journey they beheld the beacon-lights of the Trondhjem tower shining brightly over the fiord.

III. HOW MACABUIN WAS AVENGED.

All this time Loan MacLibuin was brooding over the disgrace that had come upon his magic sword, and awaiting with impatience the arrival of King Olaf. There was but one way to purify the weapon, and that was to shed the blood of some nobly born person; therefore Loan MacLibuin had determined that Olaf himself should die.

Now it happened on the day that Olaf was approaching the smithy, Loan MacLibuin's beautiful daughter, Emergaid, was with her father at the forge, and he, aware by his magic power of the king's approach, revealed to her what he was about to do, and how for many days he had been fashioning a sword for this very purpose.

Soon they heard the hammerman's voice shouting out, "Open the door," for he wished to warn his master. But before he could enter the smithy, Olaf, foreseeing some treachery, sprang forward, and appeared at the entrance, calling out in his clear, ringing voice, "Shut it!" Then immediately he seized the huge forge hammer and struck the anvil such a blow that it was split from top to bottom, and also the block on which it rested.

Emergaid stood astonished at this display of strength after so long a journey, and a tender feeling of love and pity rose up within her for the hero whose death her father had plotted. She determined, if possible, to save his life, so whilst MacLibuin and the hammerman were slowly replacing the anvil, Emergaid stole up to Olaf's side.

"My father intends your death, noble Olaf," said she. "He is even now replacing the anvil in order to finish the sword you see in yonder fire, and that sword he has prophesied will spill royal blood, and thus avenge Macabuin."

"Is not your father the seventh son of old Windy Cap, King of Norway?" asked Olaf, unmoved.

"Yes, truly," said Emergaid, wonderingly. At this moment Loan MacLibuin, having finished his business, approached the king.

"Now!" cried Olaf, "let the prophecy be fulfilled!" and drawing the red steel from the fire, he struck the magician and quenched the sword in his blood. Emergaid, with a cry of anguish, tried to defend her father, but Loan MacLibuin's last hour had come, and he died where he fell.

Olaf raised the weeping maiden, and as he seems to have been wifeless at this time, the legend concludes in the good old-fashioned style, *i.e.*, that the brave and good King of Man married Emergaid, who had saved his life, and that they lived happy ever after!

History further tells us that Olaf Goddardson died much lamented by his people. They buried him at Rushen Abbey, and the modern tourist may still see the lid of a stone coffin, on which is sculptured a rude sword. Surely this can be no other than King Olaf's coffin, and the sword a representation of the far-famed and mighty Macabuin!

ESME STUART.



Celebrated Birthplaces:

JONATHAN SWIFT AT DUBLIN.



DURING those troublous times of Charles the First, when the nation broke out into rebellion against the sovereign, a parsonage-house stood within a few minutes' walk of the village of Goodrich, near Ross, in Herefordshire. The owner and builder thereof was the vicar of Goodrich, the Reverend Thomas Swift. Mr. Craik, in his recently-published admirable *Life of Jonathan Swift*, has told us some of the peculiar features of this building, and

how indicative it was of its owner's idiosyncrasy and strength of character. The Reverend Thomas Swift was a royalist, while all around him were for the parliament.

The royal standard had been raised at Nottingham in August 1642. In October of the same year, Thomas Swift's stout house and thriving homestead were visited by the parliamentary marauders. Twelve times, so it was said, his flocks were driven off; fifty times his house was plundered from roof-tree to cellar. (Craik's *Life*, p. 5.)

Stout and royal as the indomitable vicar was, the force of events was against him, and, dying two years before the restoration of the royal family, he left his ten sons and three or four daughters to shift for themselves.

The mother of this large family of Swifts was Elizabeth Dryden, niece to Sir Erasmus Dryden, the grandfather of the poet John Dryden. But if this family were, as Mr. Craik says, "broken and impoverished," they had inherited from their parents great and useful talents. They went forth into the land, as other Englishmen have done, and still do, to make their fortune. Five of the sons went to Ireland. One of these five was the seventh or eighth of the family, and he bore the name of Jonathan. "He had come to Ireland," says Mr. Craik, "a lad of eighteen at his father's death. Before he had secured any sure income, and while he could settle on his wife no more than £20 a year," he married Abigail Erick, the dowerless daughter of an old Leicestershire house. A daughter was soon born to this thriftless pair; and in 1667 another child was expected. But before this latter momentous birth, death overtook Jonathan Swift very suddenly. And then, that same year, on the 30th of November,

1667,* was born a son, afterwards to become one of the greatest of England's literary heroes. We can almost picture to ourselves the young widow's mournful tribute to her dead husband, when she christened her infant by the name his father had borne, Jonathan Swift.

These events took place at No. 7, Hoey's Court, Dublin.† The house is now pulled down, and the site enclosed in the castle grounds. It is still remembered, says Mr. Craik, by the older inhabitants as one of the largest houses in the court. Before its destruction, however, a drawing of it was made, and an engraving, reproduced for this journal, was given in that curious and useful miscellany of notes and queries, Willis's *Current Notes* for 1853. This now famous court was erected in the seventeenth century by Sir John Hoey, on a portion of the site of Austin's Lane and Sir James Ware's house, and, though now dirty and mean-looking, was in Swift's time one of the best in Dublin. Robert Marshall, third sergeant of the exchequer, and the friend of Swift's "Vanessa," resided here from 1738 to 1741, so that Swift was all his life connected with the spot of his birth.



NO. 7, HOEY'S COURT, DUBLIN: BIRTHPLACE OF SWIFT.

The boyhood of this extraordinary character has many incidents, which show his intense association with localities. Mr. Craik has

* It is worthy of note in connection with this birthday, that long after Swift had passed from active life the Irish population still continued to light bonfires on his birthday. See Macaulay's *History of England*, i. 299.

† Mr. Gilbert, in his *History of Dublin*, p. 6, says it was No. 9, Hoey's Court, the house of his uncle, Counsellor Swift. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, alludes to the statement in Spence's anecdotes, that Swift was born at Leicester. But there is no doubt that No. 7, Hoey's Court, was the place of his birth.

collected these together in his admirable volume, and we must be pardoned for summarizing them here. Surely a tale of so much interest bears repeating so long as we are in touch with, and have sympathy for, the literary careers of those who have gone from amongst us.

Swift's mother was not too poor, thanks to the eldest brother of her late husband, Godwin Swift, to have had in her service a nurse whose relations were English, and with whom is connected the first strange story of Swift's life. The nurse became so attached to her charge, that, having occasion to visit a dying relation at Whitehaven, she carried with her secretly the infant of a year old, and kept him with her for more than three years; and it was to this residence at Whitehaven that Swift's earliest recollections belonged. At four years of age he returned to Dublin, and he had then learned to spell, and even to read any chapter of the Bible. At the age of six he was sent by his uncle, Godwin Swift, to the grammar school of Kilkenny, and there he remained till he was fourteen years old. Long after his death there was to be seen in the old schoolroom his name cut in the desk with a penknife. Of his schoolfellows there was his cousin, Thomas Swift, who afterwards brought on himself that sarcasm of his greater kinsman by laying claim to the authorship of the *Tale of a Tub*; and there was William Congreve, for whom Swift entertained a life-long admiration. At fourteen, Swift left Kilkenny school for Trinity College, Dublin, where he was entered as a pensioner, still owing his livelihood to his uncle Godwin. Thus we get him at Dublin during these early years for two years between the ages of four and six, and then for seven years between fourteen and twenty-one. But he never loved his birthplace. He told his friends that he was born at Leicester, whither during his college days at Dublin his mother had gone to reside with her own relations.

When Godwin Swift died, Jonathan left Dublin, and sought his mother's home at Leicester. He was then twenty-one years of age. He tenderly loved his mother, and of her we get some knowledge, knowing her to be in many respects the author of some of her great son's many peculiar characteristics. But she was a tender, lovable woman, way-

ward, and occasionally perhaps something more nearly akin to eccentric; but not, on the whole, so far as we can see her at this distance of time, out of unison with her son's greatness and fame. Swift's birthplace at this period of his life lay far enough behind him, with no pleasant recollections, but he journeyed thither later on, and built his fame in Dublin city.



Forest Laws and Forest Animals in England.

II.

*Vix lepori hospitium præbent, silvestribus olim
Quæ timidas latebris damas ursosque tegebant.*

VANIERIUS, *Præd. Rust.*



T remains for us now to say something about the beasts and birds for whose preservation the forest laws were originally established and were maintained so long.

One word of caution is perhaps necessary at the outset: it is this. Manwood's *Treatise of the Forest Laws*, first published towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, is beyond a doubt the highest authority upon all matters with which it deals. When, therefore, he differs, expressly or by implication, from other writers upon the same subject, we shall accept his ruling as conclusive, and, with few exceptions, shall make no reference to any contrary or divergent opinion. If we were not to adopt this course, the apocrypha of forest law and custom would be so voluminous that our readers might easily lose sight of the canon altogether.

The beasts of forest were five in number—the hart, the hind, the hare, the boar, and the wolf. We will devote a little space to each of these creatures in turn.

"The Hart," says Manwood, "is the most noblest and the most worthiest beast, and taketh the first place." From time immemorial, indeed, precedence would seem to have been given to this gallant animal. The so-called *Charta Canuti*, which in our first article we referred to as untrustworthy, but which must yet of necessity possess a certain amount of historical value, draws a broad line of distinction between offences committed

against the common *fera foresta* and those committed against the *regalis fera quam Angli Staggon appellant*. William I., as we have already seen,* "loved the high deer as though he were their father"—just as it is sometimes said nowadays of a keen sportsman, that he would as soon fire at his grandmother as at a fox. And, as our readers are no doubt aware, deer have from the earliest times occupied a prominent position in the English statute-book. The hind, though of course she is but the female red deer, as the hart is the male, was for the purposes of the forest laws accounted a distinct beast of forest. The reason for making this distinction was that, while harts were in season from Midsummer until Holy-Rood Day, the season for hinds began on Holy-Rood Day and lasted until Candlemas. These seasons were, it would seem, in the seventeenth century found to be too long, at least in the royal forests, chases, and parks. For by a Proclamation issued by Charles I. on the 17th of January, 1637, the king's foresters, rangers, keepers, and officers attending his "Game of Deer" are commanded

to forbear the hunting or killing upon Warrants of any of our Harts, Stags, Bucks, or other Male Deer, Red or Fallow, in any our Forests, Chases, Parks or elsewhere, within this our Kingdom of England or Dominion of Wales, in any Year hereafter, before the seventh day of July, being about the end of the Fence Month, or after Holyrood day, and likewise that they from henceforth yearly forbear to hunt or kill upon Warrants, any Hind, Doe or other Female Deer, before Holyrood day, or after the Feast of Epiphany, commonly called the twelfth day.†

The fence month, or *mensis vetitus*, during which the deer were specially protected from disturbance on account of the calves and fawns, began on St. Edmund's day, fifteen days before Midsummer, and ended on St. Cyril's day, fifteen days after Midsummer.

It is pleasant to think that the love of sport has hitherto succeeded in preserving the red deer in a wild state on the borders of Somerset and Devon. The following extracts from Collins's *Chase of the Wild Red Deer* link together, so to speak, the practices of mediæval and of modern times :

When the stag's neck begins to swell, evidencing the approach of the rutting season, the time for hunt-

ing him is at an end ; and, accordingly, shortly after the 8th of October, which should be the last day for hunting the stag, the autumn season for hind hunting commences (a fortnight or three weeks being allowed to elapse, during which time the stags and hinds are permitted to consort together without molestation), and continues for the five following weeks, or even up to Christmas if the weather permits and no frost sets in (pp. 53, 54).

Again :—

The period for stag-hunting commences on the 12th of August, and ends the 8th of October. . . . Hind-hunting recommences in the spring, as soon after Ladyday as the weather will permit, and continues until the 10th of May. In the autumn hunting, a "yeld" or barren hind should, if possible, be selected. . . . About the end of July again, the hounds may be allowed to hunt one or two hinds, so as to get them in wind for the stag-hunting ; and, indeed, unless there be a great scarcity of deer, a kill may be permitted, as I have no doubt that the eagerness of the pack will be materially increased by giving them blood (pp. 72, 73).

So much for wild red deer in England. As for their semi-domesticated brethren, Mr. Shirley, to whose interesting book on *English Deer Parks* we are under considerable obligations, tells us that about thirty-one English parks contain red deer, or at least did contain them less than twenty years ago.* So that for the present at any rate, there is small chance of this indigenous British animal becoming extinct in this country.

The hare, the third of the beasts of forest (although in the *Charta Canuti* she is not included among them), from very early times, and in other countries beside our own, has been highly esteemed both for the sport she affords in her lifetime and for the meat she supplies after death. Martial sings her praises in almost ecstatic tones :—

Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus (xiii., 92).

By some old foresters, as Manwood tells

* Mr. Shirley gives no separate list of these parks ; but they would appear to be the following :—Richmond in Surrey, Eridge and Ashburnham in Sussex, Eastwell in Kent, Thorndon in Essex, Charborough in Dorset, St. Audries in Somerset, Melton Constable in Norfolk, Helmingham in Suffolk, Woburn in Beds, Ashridge and Langley in Bucks, Windsor in Berks, Blenheim in Oxfordshire, Bradgate, Donington, and Gopsall in Leicestershire, Deane in Northants, Charlecote in Warwickshire, Spetchley in Worcestershire, Calke in Derbyshire, Bagots and Chartley in Staffordshire, Grimsthorpe and Syston in Lincolnshire, Badminton in Gloucestershire, Tatton, Lyme, and Doddington in Cheshire, Knowsley in Lancashire, and Burton Constable in the East Riding of Yorkshire. We doubt whether this list is quite complete.

* *Ante*, p. 22.

† *Acta de Rymer*, xx., p. 186.

us, she was called "the king of all beasts of Venerie, and in hunting maketh best sport and delight." And Harrison, who wrote the *Historicall Description of the Iland of Britain*, which stands first in the collection known as Holinshed's Chronicles, says that hare-hunting is "mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters doo vse."* The same writer, however, ranks the hare after the roe, an animal which is not properly a beast of forest at all.

According to Gyfford and Twety (or Twici), who wrote a treatise on hunting in Edward II.'s reign, "the hare is alway in sesoune to be chasyd."† This may no doubt have been the case at a very early period; but the practical necessity for a close season must soon have asserted itself. Manwood and others say that the hunting season lasted from Michaelmas to Midsummer. This was obviously carrying on the season too far into the year. "You should never hunt after March," says Beckford; "and if the season is forward, you should leave off sooner."‡ So far as the Game Laws are concerned, however, hares may still be hunted, coursed, or shot at any time of the year. Their destructiveness to crops is no doubt the reason why they are debarred from that periodical protection which is given to all the other creatures included within the statutory definition of "game." Viewed in certain aspects, and in relation to certain persons, hares are not game but vermin.

Of wild boars Manwood naturally says but little, and in at least one passage he omits both them and wolves from the list of beasts of forest. He tells us, however, that the season for boar-hunting lasted from Christmas until the Purification of our Lady (Candlemas). At a later period, indeed, these limits would seem to have been disregarded; for in a letter dated 28th September, 1617, and addressed by Adam Newton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., we read § that the king and princes had a few days previously gone to Windsor "to the hunting of the wild boar." But at that time wild boars in this

country must have been wild in about the same sense in which the cattle at Chillingham are wild in the present day. As late as 1683-4 "wild swine" were kept in Lord Ferrers' park at Chartley in Staffordshire;* but the extent of their wildness may be inferred from the fact that they were supplied at that date with a "paile," which cost two shillings. Several attempts have been made at various times to reintroduce wild boars in England for the purpose of hunting or shooting;† but, though the exact date of their becoming extinct is uncertain, there can be little doubt that as beasts of forest they were practically extinct long before Manwood's day.

Wolves, the last of the beasts of forest, are said to have been a favourite object of sport with the Britons and the Saxon chiefs; and in feudal times estates were sometimes held by the serjeanty or service of keeping wolf-dogs, for the use of the king whenever he should visit the various districts in which those estates lay. But a spirit of destruction as well as a spirit of preservation in respect of wolves seems to have animated our forefathers from an early period. The tax or tribute of three hundred wolves a year imposed by Edgar on the Welsh prince Judwal is well known to all; and though it did not succeed, and probably was not meant to succeed, in exterminating these animals in England, there can be no doubt that it must have thinned their numbers very considerably, and driven them, at least temporarily, from one of their favourite strongholds. Our old friend the *Charita Canuti* makes mention of wolves in somewhat contemptuous terms, saying that *nec foresta nec veneris habentur*, and ranking them, therefore, after wild boars, which were termed forest beasts though not beasts of venerie. And in Blount's *Tenures of Land* we find wolves classed with "martens, cats, and other vermin," for the destruction whereof dogs were to be kept by the tenant of certain lands in Pightesle (Pythchley), Northamptonshire—a place associated in modern times with the pursuit of another kind of animal. Mr. Harting, in the book to which we have

* Holinshed, bk. iii., c. 4 (ed. 1587).

† See Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii., p. 121 (1776).

‡ *Thoughts on Hunting*, pp. 151, 152 (ed. 1810).

§ *Court and Times of James I.*, ii., 34.

* Shirley, *Deer Parks*, p. 177.

† See Harting's *British Animals Extinct within Historic Times*, pp. 94-100.

already referred, says that in the half-century between 1327 and 1377,

While stringent measures were being devised for the destruction of wolves in all or most of the inhabited districts which they frequented, in the less populous and more remote parts of the country, steps were taken by such of the principal landowners as were fond of hunting to secure their own participation in the sport of finding and killing them. In Edward III.'s time, Conan, Duke of Brittany, in 1342, gave pasture for cattle through all his new forest at Richmond in Yorkshire to the inmates of the Abbey of Fors in Wensleydale, forbidding them to use any mastiffs to drive the wolves from their pastures (pp. 146, 147).

The general statement with which the passage above quoted begins is, we daresay, true enough; but the particular illustration which follows is unfortunate. Conan, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, who gave to the Abbey of Fors the valley watered by the Ure (*Joreval*, Jervaux), to which they removed in 1156, died more than 150 years before Edward III. came to the throne. And though Burton, in his *Monasticon Eboracense*,* which Mr. Harting follows, tells this story about the monks being forbidden to keep mastiffs, Conan's charter itself, if it be correctly given in Dugdale, † contradicts him flatly in this matter. In that charter Conan says:—

Deo & beatæ Mariæ, & abbatiæ de JOREVALLE Cisterciensis ordinis, quam fundavi in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, & monachis meis ibi Deo serviens, & pro me orantibus, dedi & concessi pro me & meis hæredibus . . . imperpetuum pasturam per totam novam forestam meam juxta RICHMOND ad omnia averia sua, quæ habere poterunt, sine contradictione mei vel hæredum meorum. Et præcipio quod habeant mastivos ad lupos coercendos de pasturis suis.

It would therefore appear that, far from "forbidding them to use any mastiffs," Conan expressly commanded the monks to keep them. Such express command may, no doubt, fairly be deemed to show that, but for its insertion in the charter, the monks would not have been allowed to hunt or disturb the wolves in Wensleydale. Nevertheless, if Dugdale is right, Burton and Mr. Harting are clearly wrong in their statements respecting Conan's grant.

Though wolves survived in Scotland and Ireland until about the middle of the last

* P. 370.

† *Monast. Angl.*, p. 875, ed. 1655; vol. v., p. 572, ed. 1825.

century, in England they probably became extinct during Henry VII.'s reign.* Manwood was, therefore, fully justified in saying "wee haue none here in England, nor I thinke we neuer shall haue in any of our Forests." The season for wolf-hunting is said to have lasted from Christmas to Lady Day.

So much for the beasts of forest, strictly so called. But, as Manwood tells us,

Because a Forest is the highest and greatest Franchise, being also a general and compound Word, it comprehends both a Chase, Park, and Warren; and for that Reason the Beasts of Chase, and the Beasts and Fowls of Warren, are privileged in a Forest, as well as the Beasts of Forest; and therefore, if any such Beasts or Fowls of Chase, Park or Warren, are hunted or killed in a Forest, 'tis a Trespass of the Forest, and to be punished by the Laws thereof, and by no other Law whatsoever.

We propose in another article to say something about these other creatures—the beasts of chase and the beasts and fowls of warren—to which the forest laws afforded special protection.

F.



Charities of Over, etc., Cambridgeshire.

By J. KING WATTS.



THE charity estates in Over, Cambs., are very valuable and of considerable relief and importance to the inhabitants. From some ancient records respecting those charities it is clearly shown that for a long time previously to the 13 Henry VIII. (1522) the feoffees or trustees of the town were in possession of many charity estates for "the use and benefit of the Inhabitants." It is, however, not very well ascertained by what means some of such charity estates became vested in the feoffees, as some of the earlier records of the parish in that respect, after the long period of more than 350 years, appear to be lost. However, I find by an old record dated at Westminster the 16th May, in the 17 Elizabeth (1575), that it is evident such feoffees had previously to that time in their possession several lands and commons for the use and

* Harting, p. 204.

benefit of the town, as will appear by the following extracts :—

The Feoffees of the Town of Over hold one Messuage or Tenemt: called the "*Court House*" with a Garden adjoining in Over afresd & three roods of meadow in Owze Fen in Hempstretch and six roods of meadow in ye Shoft and two Tenemts called Cades p^r. ann 12^d. And two roods & a half of meadow in Owz Fen aforsd with one selion of Land called Blonritt holt And 7 ac^r & halfe of Land arrable Where-upon the Downe, half an acre in Golyfield one acre in ye severall fields there And 18 roods of Comon in House Fen All which s^d pemisses the s^d Feoffees hold freely by fealty & suit of Court as appeareth by ye writing of Geffery Brizland dated ye 10th day of July in ye 34th year of Henry ye 8th As well as ye use of bearing and paying ye tenth & fifteenth or Taxation when they shall be granted by authority of Parliamt: as for bearing and supporting of all comon charges of the Towne & reparacon of ways of Over aforsd hereafter when needs should require And do pay therefore p^r ann at ye feast aforsd^d 7^d.

The aforsaid Feoffees of the Towne of Over do hold one Tenemt: called *Keys* with all lands arr: Meadows Marishes & Comons to the s^d Tenemt: belonging together with one Croft To have to y^m and their Successors freely by Charter in free socage by feuly as appeth by writing dat: ye 9th day of January in ye 18th yr of King Henry ye 8th paying &c. nothing but suit of Court only.

The Feoffees of Over do hold one tenemt & 3^r of Mar in House fen with the appt & one croft or grove to ye sd messuages adjoining To have to y^m & their heirs freely as by writ dat. 23 day of Octob in ye first yr of 2 Eliz. holding as aforsd^d.

The record also contains an enumeration of several other estates as belonging to the town for charitable purposes. Disputes, however, appear to have arisen in the parish prior to the year 1729 relative to the distribution of some of the charity funds, and a petition was presented to the Court against the feoffees by a parishioner named John Collett relative thereto. An Inquisition was consequently issued out of the Court of Exchequer dated 20th December, 2 George II. (1729), appointing the Reverend William Nichols, D.D., William Greaves (Commissary of the University of Cambridge), Joseph Kettle and Hoste Archer, Esqrs., as Commissioners to inquire and examine into the affairs of the charity estates. In Mr. Collett's petition he alleged that the charity funds and profits had been "misemployed and misconverted." After due and proper inquiry had been made by

fourteen gentlemen named as assessors, it was ascertained that on 20th January, 1692, several persons had been appointed as trustees of the charity estates upon certain trusts as therein set forth, and that upon the decease of several of the trustees certain other persons were appointed as feoffees in lieu of those deceased by a deed dated 25th March, 1726. The Commissioners, upon hearing Mr. Collett's petition at Cambridge on 25th September, 1729, decided and made their decree that he had no just cause of complaint against the feoffees—dismissed his petition, and caused him

to pay the sum of £5 towards the Costs for his having occasioned the Feoffees to be put to extraordinary Costs and Charges by his unjust complaint.

The old trusts of the estates were thereby confirmed—namely, that after paying certain charges out of the rents the remainder of such rents should be divided by the feoffees into three parts for the ease and benefit of the town, and they should pay one-third part thereof towards the expenses of the constables' charges and levies, one-third part for payment of the churchwardens' charges and levies, and the other third part thereof towards the payment of the overseers of the poor's charges and levies. Up to the present time the moneys have always been paid over to the beneficiaries in pursuance of the trusts, the accounts regularly kept, and annually audited and published. The property consists of 148 acres of first-rate quality arable and pasture lands, besides several messuages, school gardens, etc., comprising thirty-one different estates and several holdings. The annual rents or income, which are moderate, amount to £388, and that sum is divided yearly between the recipients in the manner above stated. Exclusive of the above there are several small charities payable out of, or arising from, some lands devised many years since to the vicar and churchwardens for the time being in trust for the poor; they amount to £40 and upwards annually. These sums are always divided between such poor people two or three times a year when necessary, and regular accounts always taken and balanced.

There were also several other districts in the parish which had some peculiar rights and

privileges pertaining to them. As, for instance, the lands in "Ouz Fen," "Swalney," "Ausley," "Hawcroft," "Fordfen," "Forehill," "Bluntishmere" and "Skeggs" were to be occupied in a certain manner. These districts were formerly called *Fens* according to an old Field and Fen Book made in the year 1487 as to such lands, and upon which lands many hundreds of cattle were maintained and depastured. The "Milches" also were properly attended to by duly-appointed herdsman. In the above-mentioned records the following quaint clauses occur:—

In times past many wett years hapned together & some of the Inhabitants y^e being very poor for that in those times there benefit and advantage out of y^e fens was very small & some years nothing at all by reason of the great abundance of ye moysture that then happned for in one moist sumer & a hard winter following they lost more by death and drowning of Cattle then they gained by the fens in three years. The sd Inhabitants for their more ease and mittigacon of charges wch they then were evil able to endure and because that every poor person y^t had parte of ye Fens was not able psently at every brake & rage of water to disbust money towards ye repaire of the Bankes Bridges ditches & draynes wch at that time were most argeable to maintaine & notwithstanding must of necessity be done, made order by ye genrall consent as well of ye Abbott & Covent of ye late dissolved Monastery of Ramsey Lords of ye Manr; and ye Lords of divers other Lands there as of all and every ye Inhabitants that there should be defaulted of every man prte of the sd Fen 4 foot for every pole in ye aforesd fen called House Fen aforesd so that every man y^t had 18 foote to ye pole had by this means left 14 foot for every pole, and ye residue which after yt porcon was by ye fen Greeves sold and employed towards ye repaire of ye sd Banks Bridges ditches & draynes by means whereof & ye good behaviour of ye officers the fens were grately amended & as well ye rich as ye poor beare their parte equally together with less grieve & hindrance then if they should have paid in ready money.

And so the matters have continued up to the present time.

Many years previously to the Norman Conquest, in 1066, the ancient town of St. Ives was called Slepe by the Anglo-Saxons.

It is very near to Over, but is divided from it by the river at Holywell. St. Ives was well known as a place of great resort in early times, as well on account of its chalybeate spring, so well described by Drs. Layard and Morris in Vol. 56 of the *Philosophical Transactions*. The existing fairs therein were established in 1020 and 1110 by

Charter. The present Charter for a weekly market was granted by King Edward I. in 1290. The fairs and market were supplied by Over and the neighbouring villages with large quantities of dairy and agricultural produce, as well as with a plant there cultivated called *woad*. The woad was grown in some of the warm fields of Over, particularly in "Mill Field," so well adapted for its production. This pretty cruciform flowering plant, the *Isatis tinctoria*, was cut and carried at the proper time, and bound up in sheafs fastened and enclosed with osier bands to prevent injury, and so exported from Over by or down the escarpment or hillside, in Mill Field and "Lowberry Holme," and adjacent parts to and over the water and river to St. Ives, and there disposed of. It was from the juice or dye of this plant that the ancient Britons painted themselves of a purple colour, as recorded by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, lib. 5, § 10, who says:—

The Britons paint themselves with Woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle.

The cultivation of woad was no doubt a lucrative one, as well for Over as for other places near thereto, and we find that privileges were granted by Charters dated 1237 and 1334 to certain merchants of "Amias" (now Amiens), in the department of "the Somme" in France, to allow them to export woad from Britain to their own country. Those merchants exacted from St. Ives (the only place in England except Winchester where woad was allowed to be exported to foreign countries) the sum of twenty-five marks annually;—a good round sum in those early times. Over, of course, felt a portion of this exaction. So lucrative did the growth of woad and produce become, that the Bishop of Ely endeavoured to establish a fair at Ely, near to where the Normans had landed from Willingham, and close to Over. This would have injured the cultivation of woad in Over, St. Ives, and other places. St. Ives' fair would have been injured if the fair at Ely had been continued. But I find in Vol. ii., p. 439, App. 17 of *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento Tempore, Edwardi R. III.* it is stated that—

Whereas the Abbott of Ramsey hath Ancient

Charters of the Kings of England to hold a Faire at St. Ive at Easter, for 20 days for confirmation whereof they payed D marks to H. III and L. lis per annum to the Exchequer and John the Bp. of Ely not regarding the Clause of the said Charter forbidding any other Faire at that time doth keepe a Faire at Elye in the Eve of the Ascension, which is the best tyme of the Faire at St. Ive.

The bishop was therefore ordered to come before the King and make answer, etc., to the matters contained in the Petition, etc.; see Rot. 10. The fair at Ely was therefore from that time abolished.



Reviews.

De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo: Ein Polemischer Tractat Johann Wiclifs, aus den Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien und der Universitätsbibliothek zu Prag. Zum ersten Malet herausgegeben von DR. RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG, Dresden. (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1880.)

AS not altogether inopportune to the Wycliffe quincentenary, we mention a book pretty well described in the title-page. It is a controversial tract of Wycliffe's; published for the first time from the MSS. at Vienna and Prague. It will be an addition, if not to the University of Oxford "Select Works of Wiclif," at least to the "Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif," published in 1858, by direction of the Master of the Rolls, edited by Dr. Shirley. Being in Latin, it loses one incidental interest,—the philological value of Wycliffe's English, as showing the formation of our language, and its transition state in his day.

Dr. Buddensieg rightly terms it a polemical treatise; it is that, and something more; marked, as it is, throughout by unusual virulence even for its class and its day. We do not care to quote, but one of its phrases, p. 52, may pretty correctly convey a notion of its manner of speech: "Papa edificans castra Ecclesie, realiter est fur et latro." Though of small interest for its polemics, it is of great interest for the position which such a treatise holds in the controversy then begun. It is of interest, too, chronologically. Written with power and with vigour, full of scriptural and patristic quotations, it is marked by that tone which bespeaks an intimate knowledge of the sacred books and of the Fathers,—we will not say shown chiefly in perverse misapplication, but which using them, rightly or wrongly, only for polemical purposes, certainly uses them as familiar weapons.

This tractate, then, is an added proof that the clergy of that day were not the ignorant folk it was at one time a popular error to suppose; and then again that such a treatise should have been written, presupposes that it would not have been written if there had not been an audience for it, and an audience prepared to receive it. The marvel is,—and this is another lesson we learn from what Dr. Buddensieg naively calls

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"this new Wiclif's tractate for the first time published by me,"—the marvel is—and no less the moral to be drawn from it—that with the large following Wycliffe must have had, so few traces of it survived when the movement of the sixteenth century began. The time was not ripe; political mischances no doubt befell them as a body; still the "Lollards," as Wycliffe's disciples were called at the end of the fourteenth century, were to be found not alone in the Church, or among the poor, but in the castle and on the throne, or what then overshadowed even the throne. It remains one of the problems of history. The strong impress Wycliffe left on his own age cannot be doubted, and it may be reasonably concluded that if it slumbered it was not wholly effaced or extinguished when what is called "The Reformation" overtook it.

We will only add that this contribution to English history, and to English theological history, has been edited with most exact, conscientious care by Dr. Buddensieg. He is, we believe, Rector of the Vitzthum Gymnasium at Dresden. He has bestowed on it a minute and loving attention, in collation and recension of the double MS., and has, without doubt, given from the two a perfect text. To the text he has added several papers of his own, three of which at least are excellent as profuse dissertations: 1. "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Wiclif Literatur"; 2. "Die lateinischen Werke Wiclifs und ihr Werth"; 3. "Die polemischen Schriften und die Polemik Wiclifs."

There is yet another entitled, "Stellung des De Christo innerhalb der Polemik Wiclifs," which, accompanied by a classification and an index of its contents, shows keen appreciation of this "De Christo Adversario" tractate. The second part of this dissertation treats of the respective MSS., their "gegenseitiges Verhältniss," and the like, showing an amount of painstaking care and minute collation worthy some important codex; a favourable specimen of German editorship, of which it might be well if there were a few more like examples among ourselves, exercised on subjects deserving such, and worthy of it. As this article is going to press we hear that the Wyclif Society have despatched Mr. Reginald Lane Poole to Vienna, on the subject of the Wyclif MSS., presumably, *inter alia*, as to this duplicate there and at Prague.

Ancient and Modern Britons: a Retrospect. (London, 1884: Kegan Paul.) 2 vols. 8vo.

This book is written by one who acknowledges, in one or two passages, that he is not a scholar. We agree with him. And we are inclined to go further, and to say that he has had no previous literary experience, and possesses naturally no literary taste. Without any attempt at order or sequence, with absolutely arbitrary and meaningless divisions into "books" and "chapters" and "appendixes," with no index of any kind, the reader flounders through the nine hundred pages with something akin to dismay. Facts crowd upon him, theories creep out, quotations follow one after the other, second-hand references are constantly made to books easily obtainable—until we ask ourselves in despair, what does it all mean? and who can it be who has given us this medley? An author who quotes

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all sorts of out-of-the-way books should surely not be content with saying upon one subject, not unimportant to his object, that "a reference to Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes* would no doubt throw a good deal of light upon the matter." As a matter of fact, Strutt does give some curious facts and two illustrations, and the author, in the course of his long series of arguments, has used many more doubtful pieces of evidence than this from Strutt would have given him.

But objecting, as we must do, to the style of this book, objecting, moreover, to many of the minor conclusions, and, most of all, to the general theory of the book, there is, curiously enough, a great deal remaining which is of great and unique importance upon a subject that has not been properly dealt with, namely,



the survival of pre-Aryan races in the British Isles. Many of the author's propositions are undoubtedly correct, and deserve some close attention from those authorities who are not content to take all their history from chronicles and official records. Now and then in the narrative there appear passages which show some considerable powers of historical insight, as, for instance, the definition of Billy Marshall's position as the last chieftain of Pictish Galloway. That we are much nearer "savagedom" than is quite possible for us to understand, has been suggested by Dr. Mitchell in his *Past in the Present*, and the present work is but an elaboration of the same idea upon totally different grounds. The anonymous author tries hard to prove that "black" races have existed in Ireland and Scotland to within quite historical times, and that the gipsy is the best representative of this race.

The customs, superstitions, and characteristics of the gipsy race are all brought out with singular force, but nowhere does the author grapple with the first great problem. The history and migration of the gipsies, says Professor Sayce, have been traced step by step by means of an examination of their lexicon. The grammar and dictionary of the Romany prove that they started from their kindred, the Jâts, on the north-western coast of India, near the mouths of the Indus, not earlier than the tenth century of the Christian era; that they slowly made their way through Persia, Armenia, and Greece, until, after a sojourn in Hungary, they finally spread themselves through western Europe into Spain on the one side, and England on the other. We are quite aware that much of what the author of the book before us has advanced would meet the proposition of Professor Sayce, that philology and ethnology in point of fact may be, and sometimes are, at variance; but still, it is not for us to settle this dispute, but rather for the author, who has raised it; and, of course, it is self-evident that, though the author may be, and probably is, right in suggesting that some of the marauding clans who infested the borders were descendants of old and dispossessed families, just such as readers of *Lorna Doone* will recognize, it does not follow that these are to be identified, either archaeologically or actually, with the Romany gipsy. In such a subject as is here discussed pitfalls meet the unscientific inquirer everywhere, and if it has been our duty to point out that the anonymous author of this book has very frequently fallen into them, we must also state that he has opened up a question of immense importance, that he has laid before the student plenty of new facts which in juxtaposition and in their collected form must be of the utmost value to future inquirers, and that if the unskilled reader is careful to avoid the theories, he will find plenty of curious and interesting reading in these goodly volumes. By the kindness of the publishers we reproduce a curious illustration of the "savage in modern history," as we may call it, representing, as it does, one of the supporters of the Colville family arms, and this certainly curious fact of heraldry has been duly dragged in to build up the theory of the survival of savagedom in English modern civilization.

A True Report of Certain Wonderful Overflowings of Waters in Somerset, Norfolk, and Other Parts of England, A.D. 1607. Edited by ERNEST E. BAKER. (Weston-super-Mare, 1884: "Gazette" Office.) 4to, pp. iii, 41.

Readers of Mr. Green's *Making of England* know full well the value of all evidence which throws light upon the early topographical history of our land; and not among the least valuable of such evidence are those few tracts which remain to tell us of the floods that now and again came suddenly and disastrously upon southern and middle England. One of these relates to the 1607 flood, and Mr. Baker has reprinted two hundred copies. We welcome it most cordially. It reports facts which are of the greatest interest and value. "Who would not have thought," it is written, "this had bin a second Deluge! for at one time these

inhabited places were sunke cleane out of sight. Hunsfelde (a market towne) was quite drowned. Grantham, a village, utterly overflowne. Kenhouse, another village, covered all over. Kingson, a thyrd village, likewise lies buried in salt water. So (besides other small cottages standing in valies) is Brian Downe, a village, quite consumed." The description of these floods is graphic enough, and tells of the severity with which the people suffered. There are not wanting touches of unconscious humour either, as for

Notes and Essays on Shakespeare. By JOHN W. HALES, M.A. (London, 1884: G. Bell & Sons.) 8vo, pp. x, 295.

We have read through this little book with almost unmixed pleasure, and considering how Shakespeare is dealt with nowadays, it is something to be able to say this. Professor Hales' idea of a "Note" upon Shakespeare is to give something definite by way of illustrating his life and his work, some small fact



instance, when a father, seeing his whole family drowned before him, adds his tears to swell the waters, and when the church bells being rung, people, thinking it was to announce a fire, cried out, "Water! water!" and upon viewing the approaching floods found they had got more of that commodity than they desired. The quaint woodcut on the title-page was well worth illustrating, as it shows some very curious points, and we have to thank the author for being allowed to reproduce it in these pages.

gleaned from out-of-the-way books or from personal observation of places known to and loved by the great poet. Opening the book at an account of a journey from Stratford-on-Avon to London, we feel quite sure that Professor Hales journeyed thence on foot himself, or he could not have put on record his simple but telling little narrative. It is graphic and delightful in the extreme. "Round about Stratford in 1605" is just such another treat, but it ought to have been much longer. These and one or two other papers,

such, for instance, as those on "Shakespeare's Greek Names," and "Wily Beguiled and the Merchant of Venice," have direct and important bearing upon the personality of Shakespeare himself; while the rest of the contributions give us excellent textual criticisms based upon minute observations of "men and things" outside Shakespeare's plays. Thus there are two distinct groups of studies in Professor Hales' book, and we cannot but be struck with the acute and oftentimes, as it seems to us, intuitive knowledge which the author shows in his interesting handling of all things connected with Shakespeare.

Professor Hales is often very severe, and rightly so, upon those who without *knowing* Shakespeare venture to criticise him. One or two of these reprinted papers are reviews of books on Shakespeare literature, and it is useful to get ready to hand the opinion of so good an authority. Throughout the pages of this dainty little volume we have been entertained and instructed, and, adapting a phrase used by Professor Hales, we, who love but cannot criticise the great master, have truly found that the few miscellanies here put together are "not useless for the better understanding of the masterpieces they concern."

Offspring of Thought in Solitude. By W. CAREW HAZLITT. (London, 1884: Reeves & Turner.) 8vo, pp. 384.

It is a pity that the title of this book is not more indicative of its interesting and instructive contents. We all know Mr. Hazlitt as an indefatigable worker at old English literature—the editor of many old tracts and publications, which we of this age most gladly welcome, and the compiler of three bibliographical works, which are of the greatest value to students. During these heavy labours, ranging from 1858 to the present day, it would be strange indeed if an acute observer of men and things like Mr. Hazlitt had not something worth the telling, some chips, indeed, from his workshop which were worth preserving. As a matter of fact, he has much to tell us of great interest and value; and those who read this volume of essays will, we have no doubt, be prepared to endorse our opinion. It deals with some of the side-lights of literature and history, and the author has succeeded in placing himself, as it were, outside literary circles, in order to view literature from afar off, from the point of view of an outsider rather than as a devotee. Mr. Hazlitt has some bitter things to say about the neglect of English literature by the general run of middle class Englishmen, and he says them in a manner which tells us he feels the neglect keenly.

Many of the essays will be of special interest to the antiquary. "Englishmen in Italy and Italians in England" deals with a subject too much neglected by historical students. Our insularity of opinion is appalling. We can never understand that the Continent has been to us the means of obtaining great advantages, political and social, over and over again, and when we read this paper of Mr. Hazlitt's, it dawns upon us almost suddenly that Chaucer was not the first, or the last, Englishman who profited by a visit to, and intercourse with, the sons of Italy. Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, banished in 1399, went to Italy and borrowed from Antonio Bembo 750 ducats

of gold and did not repay them, a fact which shows in part the source of the Duke's ways and means during his forced absence from England. Then there are papers on "Old Ballads," "a chapter on Saws," "a leaf of errata," and a literary essay of some considerable interest "on persons who have done only one thing." Mr. Hazlitt alludes to the late Mr. Thoms, but we are glad to say that the veteran antiquary is still with us, a link with a very old past. Finally we would ask why Mr. Hazlitt spells the name of our great poet "Shakespear."

The History of S. Nicholas' Church, Leicester. By T. W. OWEN, M.A., Vicar. (Leicester, 1884: Tompkin & Shardlow.) Small 8vo, pp. 46.

This is a very practical and interesting guide to one of the oldest churches in England. Ten years ago the chief architectural features were plastered over, and this concealed the distinctive masonry of the different styles and periods of Gothic architecture which adorn the church. The author has carefully discriminated these features, which are now fortunately exposed to view. Two narrow openings above the arches in the north wall of the nave are among the most striking features of the Saxon church. The Anglo-Norman church is believed to have consisted of nave, chancel, or choir, tower in the centre with transepts, and north and south aisles. To these some beautiful specimens of Early English work were added. At an early period the Norman south aisle and transept were swept away, and a much broader aisle built in their place. The restoration operations were carried out in 1873-76, through the exertions of the late vicar, the Rev. T. Henry Jones. The present vicar, the author of this valuable little book, states that the north transept, the north side chapel, the outside of tower, and west wall and windows of south aisle, still require to be restored; and he adds that the church is worthy of better roofs for south aisle and chancel.

Southwell Minster. An Account of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of Southwell—Architectural, Archaeological, and Historical. By GREVILLE MAIRIS LIVETT, B.A. (Southwell: J. Whittingham, 1883.) Small 8vo, pp. 160.

Southwell Minster has always been an object of interest to architects and antiquaries as one of the fine old churches of England, but its claims to attention have been brought lately more prominently forward by reason of the proposed formation of the bishopric of Southwell, and the consequent raising of the church to the dignity of a cathedral. A considerable stone church is believed to have existed in the eleventh century, but no part of the present fabric, with the exception of one or two fragments, dates further back than the twelfth. Mr. Livett has produced an excellent history of the church, and has added to this a careful description of the College of Secular Canons, which is of special interest. The town is not without its points of interest, and Roman remains have been found here in some quantity. Charles I. lodged at the Saracens Inn on several occasions, and Cromwell is said to have afterwards lodged in the same apartment.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.—At the August meetings held in Armagh, presided over by Lord Charlemont and by Dean Reeves, the following papers were read by Mr. James J. Phillips: (1) "Notes on some old Wrought-iron Grille Work in the Vicinity of Armagh."—"I could not help observing when first I visited Armagh, some eighteen years ago, the frequency with which, in certain parts of the city, one met with excellent examples of a peculiar class of architectural wrought-iron work, which, on a return journey to the locality some years afterwards, I noticed was very sensibly diminished, owing, no doubt, to municipal exigencies, and the structural changes of residences into shops, etc. There is, however, sufficient of this work now remaining in the vicinity of the cathedral and elsewhere to show that at one time this was the *locale* of the labours of a blacksmith or family of blacksmiths, whose artistic power was very considerable, and for the merit of whose productions we must entertain the highest respect. Owing to civic changes just referred to, we need not seek in the bustling and changeable streets of the city, or even under the shadow of the Abbey Minster, for the culminating work of this handicraftsman, but in the more remote suburbs where cluster the gables of the quaint old mansions (few and far between though they be) of the county families, and to which such art-works serve as the harmonious adjuncts. Accordingly, we find in the pastoral village of Richhill, about five miles distant from Armagh, a veritable trophy of the blacksmith's handicraft, in which design and execution go hand in hand; and we have preserved to us here, where the *requiescat in pace* of a monumental work of art is little likely to be disturbed, the most beautiful specimen of old wrought-iron grille work in the province of Ulster. It is of a period of art which *sui generis* has its *habitat* in such classic localities as the Inns of Courts in London, at Gray's Inn, and the Inner Temple, or Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; and it is quite a charming surprise to us to come on it here in this quiet out-of-the-way village in Ireland, and leads one to cast about in the vicinity for old red brick mansions, with brindled brown-tiled roofs, or for that class of dormers and oriels, and such features, so greatly sought after by that school of architects who are partial to Free Classic treatments. In England such work has been variously termed late seventeenth-century work, and by some called Queen Anne work, although probably the majority of it was executed during the reigns of the two first Georges. Even the casual observer is struck with the dignity and breadth of treatment of the grille and screen-work at Richhill, and with the clever manner in which each field of vertical bars is alternated with panels of characteristic scroll-work, the upper parts enriched with forgings, forming a sort of *chevaux-de-frise*, while the gates are crowned by convoluted and foliated forgings, which upheld the arms and crest of the owners, the details of which are manipulated with great taste and refinement." (2) "The Ancient Abbey of Armagh."—This

paper bore upon "The Carol of the Prior Claustralis in Irish Abbeys."

Royal Archæological Institute.—Aug. 5th.—At the annual meeting, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, the members were welcomed to the city by the mayor, who, in his speech, briefly reviewed the history of the place. The Duke of Northumberland then delivered the presidential address. His Grace maintained that there was no part of England which afforded so great and varied a field of interest for the archæologist as the Northumbrian district, and, in conclusion, said:—"The daily life of the natives of the county was characterised by the rudeness and absence of culture and civilization which a state of constant disturbance and danger naturally produces. He who is liable to have his house burnt over his head at intervals of five or six years is not likely to be very choice in his domestic arrangements. A most amusing description is given by an Italian who accompanied an envoy from Rome to the Court of the Scottish King, James II., in the fifteenth century. Lodged in a peel tower near the Tweed, he tells how the men came flocking into the fort, not deeming that anything worthy of notice would happen to wife or children, though they had to take refuge in the tower to secure their own lives; how they stood round the table as he dined, and passed from hand to hand bread given them as an article they had never before seen, and how the writer was astonished at finding the monks of the priory in which they were quartered on the Scotch side giving to the poor a dole of "black stones," to wit, coals. This state of things will sufficiently account for the comparative poverty of design and execution which generally characterises the ecclesiastical architecture, and which finds a counterpart in the stern and bare outlines of the military buildings. This is exemplified in the castles and towers with which this county is studded, where we have nothing to compare to some of the fortresses on the western frontier, or to Warwick, unless it be in the instance of Warkworth, which is a very curious and skilful attempt to combine domestic comfort and external beauty. Yet Prudhoe, Bamburgh, Dunstanborough, Norham, and Mitford are grand and striking examples of the feudal stronghold. When the feudal power declined, and more especially after the union of the crowns, many of these last were naturally abandoned, and fell to ruin, as the surveys made in the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth show. Some, nevertheless, remain, additions having been made in subsequent reigns to fit them for more refined usages and habits of life than were aspired to by their first masters. Chipchase, Chillingham, and Belsay present most pleasing instances of this very picturesque combination. The remains of the ecclesiastical buildings are numerous and interesting; witness Hexham, Brinkburn, Holy Island, Tynemouth Priory, etc., and the details of their architecture will often be found very curious. But the rage of the destroyer has fallen heavily on most of them. The fine lines in "Marmion" describe well the results of the storm which swept over the Church of Rome in Henry VIII.'s days. Of all those named, and more than those left unnoticed, Hexham only remains undestroyed. The rest present but ruined walls and desecrated shrines, save in the

case of Brinkburn, lately restored to the proper condition of a place of worship by the munificence of its owner.—Afterwards there was a reception by the local Society of Antiquaries, and the castle and cathedral were visited. [We are compelled to postpone the remainder of our report.]

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—July 30th.—The third meeting of the members of the Club for the season was held at East Linton. At Whittingham, the Rev. Mr. Robertson exhibited the church plate (silver communion cups of date 1683), and gave a synopsis of the contents of the old session minutes of dates from 1674 to 1690, and which are very legibly written. In the churchyard are curiously sculptured gravestones of last century, and an interesting piece of architecture of last century (the Sydserff vault). Mr. Robertson also pointed out that in the field below the present factor's house there was a central space with much black soil, which was reputed to be an old churchyard; the field itself was known as the "Kirklands." That it had been an ancient place of sepulture was proved by its being on one occasion ploughed deeper than customary, when the tops of numerous slab graves were struck on, in which the bodies had been interred at full length. It may, from the character of the graves, have been a cemetery of the early Christians of the district, possibly Saxon descendants of those who settled under the founder of the colony. It was stated by others of the company that another ancient burial with slab graves has been detected on opposite sides of the Tyne above Linton. In this instance the graves were mostly short, which indicated an earlier people, who folded up the bodies of their dead, and probably also practised urn-burial. Originally Whittingham church—the historical church—was the chapel of the lord of the manor. When Dunbar was erected into a collegiate church in 1342, by Patrick, 9th Earl of Dunbar, the dean at the head of the establishment was to receive as his prebend all the tithes and offerings of the parish of Whittingham, where he was to have a vicar. The dean had a right to the kirk lands. On the 17th of August, 1560, William Douglas, laird of Whittingham, obtained a charter of the ecclesiastical lands of Whittingham from Claud Hamilton, then dean of Dunbar, with the consent of the Duke of Chastellerauld, his father.

Bucks Archæological Society.—August 11th.—This Society held its usual annual excursion, the places visited being Buckingham church, Castle House, Buckingham, and St. John's Grammar School at that town. A further visit was made to the Church of Maids-Moreton and to Stowe House. The visitors at Stowe numbered about 150, and all were very courteously received and entertained by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Papers were read in Buckingham churchyard by the vicar of Buckingham, and Castle House by Major Hearn. At Maids-Moreton church some curious entries in the parish registers were found to be interesting. After luncheon at Stowe House the Duke read an exhaustive paper on the history of the house. The annual meeting of the Society was then held. From the report read at the meeting it would appear that the Society is about to enter on a more active existence than of late years.

Essex Field Club.—Aug. 4th.—The members

made a visit to Colchester and its neighbourhood. The first business was to assemble in the keep of Colchester Castle. Mr. J. Horace Round showed the Castle, commenting briefly upon its more remarkable features. He thought that it was now generally conceded that the building dated from early in the twelfth century, and mentioned that he had lately discovered a charter in the British Museum, proving that the Castle was in existence in 1103. Luncheon concluded, the party were driven to Mersea. Mr. Henry Laver made a few remarks on the antiquities of Mersea Island, and the special features of interest connected with it. He mentioned that the mud which was visible in such abundance was in places from eighteen to twenty feet deep, or even more. Previous to the Roman occupation nothing was known of Mersea, but under the Romans it was an important place. A large Roman villa—one of the largest in the country—existed where the church and churchyard now stood. This villa was fully explored and described in 1730 and 1740 by Dr. Mortimer, who found that the church was built in it. Persons buried in the churchyard had their graves placed upon beautiful Roman tessellated pavements which covered the whole churchyard, and extended also beyond it. It was not unusual to find a church placed on a Roman villa. It had been done at Woodchester and several other places. The tessellated pavements he had mentioned did not contain figures, but simply patterns. During the Danish invasions Mersea was frequently occupied by the Danes, and after their defeat at Farnham, they retreated here as well as to Brightlingsea, and were attacked by King Alfred or one of his lieutenants. Next year they returned, and from Mersea made the well-known expedition up the Lea and the Thames. He had traced from Colchester to Mersea a Roman road, not following quite the track of the modern road. There was every probability that the Stroud or Causeway was the remains of a Roman road, and it had been found, like many other Roman roads, of great use ever since. Near where they were standing there was probably a ferry to the large station of Othona, the site of which had been almost entirely unknown till lately. If people had paid the slightest attention to Bede they would have known where Othona was, because in his *Ecclesiastical History* he described its situation as well as could be. The fact that the station was now submerged, proved that the whole of the coast had been sinking. It was not to be supposed that a clever people like the Romans would have built on a place which was liable to be inundated by the sea, but now the whole of Othona was under water at spring-tide, which was, he thought, a clear proof of the sinking of the shore. A few years ago, in making excavations, the remains of a town were discovered here, and a large number of Roman relics were disinterred, clearly proving that this was the long-lost Othona. It would have been a long way to get from Othona by road to any other inhabited station, and, therefore, no doubt, there was a ferry across to West Mersea. A good deal of pottery was found in the red hills which surrounded the Essex coast at various points. But none of the vessels were perfect, and the pottery was coarse, none of it having been on the wheel. This

showed that it must be of a very early date. It had been said that these red hills were the remains of salt works, but he could not for a moment believe that there could have been such numbers of salt works all round the coast, or that they would have made such enormous quantities of *debris*. The hills were quite red, being formed of burnt clay. There was nothing in them to explain their origin in any way, and there were no traditions connected with them, a fact indicating apparently their great antiquity. They were all on London clay, or a very stiff clay, and great quantities of animals' bones were found in them, cut, broken, and sawed—bones of sheep, goats, and rabbits, and great quantities of bones of domestic fowls. The rabbits' bones were probably due to rabbits having burrowed in and died in their holes. These red hills were found all round the coast from Kent to Norfolk, and up the different rivers and estuaries as far as the tide extends. Some covered as much as thirty acres. He thought that the idea that they were the *debris* of salt works must be at once dismissed. What they were he could not attempt to explain. On the island there would be found a number of barrows, some of them rather large. These had never been explored, but they were supposed to be of Roman origin.

Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society.—Aug. 27th.—The members of this society had an excursion to Ilkley, Otley, and Farnley Hall. The Rev. A. C. Downer, M.A., vicar of Ilkley, read a paper on "the church and churchyard," which occupy the site of the ancient Roman fortress. Coins, pottery, and other articles have been found from time to time in digging graves. The tower was no doubt constructed of the stones of the fortress, as is evidenced by the sculptures still to be seen on the north side of the interior.—Mr. J. Romilly Allen then read a paper on the Ilkley crosses. He said: "The history of the Ilkley crosses takes us back to the dawn of Christianity in the north of England, when Yorkshire formed a portion of the kingdom of Northumbria, which extended from the Humber to the Forth. The first historical notice we have of these monuments is in Camden's *Britannia*, where they are briefly referred to as 'pillars of Roman work.' All that now remains of what must once have been three very beautiful crosses, are the complete shaft of the central one, and the mutilated shafts of those on each side. The mortice holes for fixing on the heads of two of them still exist, and in the grounds of Myddelton Hall is a portion of one of the heads. A few years ago the base of the central cross was surrounded by three circular steps, which concealed the lower portion, as can be traced by the weathering of the stone. One of the other shafts was used for a long time as a gatepost in the churchyard wall, and consequently shockingly defaced. All three shafts are now securely fixed in a new stone base, and it is to be hoped that there is no further chance of injury. The centre shaft is the most important, both on account of its great size and the special interest of the sculptures. On one side are the symbols of the four Evangelists, and on the other the Lord holding a pastoral staff. From the third to the thirteenth centuries, Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists is one of the most common subjects

which occurs upon Christian monuments, but the method of representation changed considerably as time went on. In the Catacombs at Rome, in the early centuries, Christ is symbolised by the cross and the four Evangelists by four books, or scrolls at each of the corners; or, again, Christ is represented as the Agnus Dei, standing upon the Mountain of Paradise, from the base of which issue four rivers, which are the four Evangelists. As early as the sixth century we find the Evangelists symbolised by the four beasts described in the Apocalypse, St. Matthew having the face of a man, St. Mark that of a lion, St. Luke that of a bull, and St. John that of an eagle, and they carry either books or scrolls in their hands. Generally the bodies are those of winged beasts, but on the Ilkley cross the bodies are human. This curious deviation from the usual method of representation occurs only in a few rare instances, as on a Saxon slab at Wirksworth Church, in Derbyshire, and in one or two MSS. Above the Norman doorway of Adel Church, is a good example of Christ as the Agnus Dei, surrounded by the four symbolical beasts. In connection with the present subject, it may be mentioned that the cross at Clonmacnois, in Ireland, which is sculptured with scenes from the life of Our Lord, is referred to in the Irish annals under the date 1060, as the 'Cros na Screaptra,' or cross of the Scriptures, and the same name might fairly be given to the cross of Ilkley. Three of the panels of the central shaft are sculptured with grotesque animals, arranged systematically in pairs, and facing each other, or shown simply with one paw upraised and the tails interlaced. The two sides are ornamented with scrolls of graceful foliage, such as occurs on many of the stones of this period within the ancient Northumbrian area, but not in the Celtic MSS., or on stones in Scotland north of the Forth, or in Wales or Ireland. The carving on the two smaller shafts is of similar character to that on the centre one, consisting of conventional foliage and animals, together with interlaced work, and in one case a human figure holding a book. The meaning of the monstrous animal forms which are found so frequently upon the stones of this class has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but perhaps a study of the various manuscripts of the Middle Ages may eventually throw more light on the matter. In addition to the shafts of the three crosses in the churchyard, there are fragments of at least two others preserved within the church."—Mr. J. Romilly Allen then read a paper on "The Rock Sculptures of Ilkley." He said: "Perhaps one of the greatest claims of the scenery of this part of Yorkshire is the way in which, by climbing a few hundred feet up a hillside, one passes suddenly out of the fertile valley, with its broad meadows, to find oneself in the midst of wild moors covered with purple heather, and grey weather-stained rocks. An equally rapid change takes place with regard to the archaeological surroundings. Roman camp and altar, Christian cross and church, are left behind, and we find ourselves face to face with the burial mounds and sacred rocks of the primeval man. It is with the sculptures of the latter that we have now to deal. Upon the south side of the valley of the Wharfe, behind the town of Ilkley, are a line of the Gritstone Craggs, extending for about

four miles from the Cow and Calf towards Addingham, and rising gradually from 800 feet to 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. These crags form the line of demarcation between the fertile valley of the Wharfe and Rombald's Moor, and the pre-historic sculptures which form the subject of the present paper. The most important groups are situated near the Panorama Rock, and near the Cow and Calf. The sculptures belong to a class known as the cup-and-ring markings, on account of their shape. The simplest form is a cup-shaped depression, varying from one inch to three inches in diameter. This is often surmounted by one or more concentric grooves about an inch wide and the same distance apart. Sometimes there is a straight radial groove, and lastly, the ends of these radial grooves are in many cases connected by an elaborate system of channels. Cup-markings were observed at Old Berwick, in Northumberland, as far back as 1825. I believe that the late Dr. Call was the first to notice the rock sculptures at Ilkley, and it is entirely to him that I owe my knowledge of their existence, although it is to my friend, Mr. Fred. Fison, I am indebted for having been shown several new examples. There are a large number of sculptured rocks on Rombald's Moor already known, and no doubt there are many more yet to be discovered. Most of the sculptures are of the usual type, but there are others that call for comment. Near the Panorama Rock are three large masses of gritstone, close together, and averaging ten to twelve feet across each way, the horizontal surfaces of which are covered with cups and rings, and two of these stones have also a peculiar arrangement of grooves, somewhat resembling a ladder in form. This pattern occurs in only one other stone at Ilkley, which was discovered by Mr. Frederick Fison in 1878. At Woodhouse Crag is a mass of gritstone bearing a pattern which also occurs in Sweden—namely, that of the Swastica or Buddhist cross. It would seem, therefore, that there is thus established a link between the sculptures of Sweden and Ilkley. Besides the variations in the carvings upon the stones on Rombald's Moor, it must be noticed that many of the rocks upon which the sculptures occur are very remarkable in shape, and often have curious names. The stones on Addingham High Moor are striking both as regards form and position. There is a good deal to be learned from the geographical distribution of rocks with cup markings. There are in England and Wales 102, in Scotland 204, in Ireland 42, in France 21, in Switzerland 32, and in Scandinavia 42. In all these cases the sculptures are of exactly the same type, except in Sweden, where the drawings are associated with rude drawings of men, animals, etc. It is evident that the race who carved these rocks must have spread or passed over the greater part of Europe. For the most important fact connected with the cup-and-ring markings is their being found in a large number of instances in connection with sepulchral remains, such as stone circles, cist and urn covers. We are thus enabled to say with certainty that some at least of the cup-marked stones are of the Bronze Age on account of the sepulchral remains found in connection with them. Cup marks are applied to superstitious uses still in many places. Cup marks have been found in India on rocks and

sepulchral monuments, and it may eventually turn out that they are of Eastern origin, and that their meaning and use is still understood in that country."

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—July 30th.—An excursion was made to Bottisham, Swaffham, Burwell, and Anglesea Abbey. The first halting place was the Church of the Holy Trinity at Bottisham, the fine architecture of which was much admired. This church is justly said to be the finest specimen of pure Decorated work in the county. The richly-carved parclose of Decorated oak, at the east end of the aisles, and the arcading of the south aisle, both within and without the church, attracted much attention, as also the Lombardic inscription for Elias de Bekingham, Justiciar of England under Edward I. From Bottisham the Society proceeded to Swaffham Bulbeck, where the interesting woodwork and chest at the parish church were examined, and after some words from Professor Babington, the following notes, written by the vicar, the Rev. C. W. Coddington (who was not able to be present), were read by Mr. Lewis. The church, which is dedicated to St. Mary, is, with the exception of the tower and clerestory, a pure specimen of Late Decorated. It consists of nave of four bays, north and south aisles, chancel, and tower; the chancel is in good order, having been restored by Mr. Christian in 1872. There is in the church an ancient and remarkable vestment chest, with three locks, made of cedar; on the inside of the lid are representations of the Annunciation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and the symbols of the four Evangelists; it measures 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep. After a few minutes at the Abbey Close, Swaffham Prior was next reached. Swaffham Prior, otherwise called Great Swaffham, was also known occasionally by the name of "Swaffham-two-Churches," from the fact of its having two churches: they stand side by side in the same churchyard. This, though not common, was, until of late years, sometimes to be met with. The origin of the two churches at Swaffham Prior is unknown. From very early days this parish was intimately connected with the ecclesiastical establishment at Ely, and the land belonged in great part to the abbots and bishops and deans and chapters of Ely. In 1309 A.D., a market on Fridays at Swaffham Prior was granted to the Prior of Ely, together with a fair, which lasted five days, at the feast of St. John the Baptist; and, quoting from Bentham's *Ely*, he says that the manor of Swaffham Prior was obtained for the convent of Ely by the first abbot, Brithnoth. The manor belongs to this day to the Dean and Chapter. Up to the year 1677 there were two benefices of Swaffham Prior—namely, St. Mary's, the church now under restoration, and St. Cyriac, the one in use—the patronage of the one being in the hands of the Dean and Chapter, and the other in the Bishop of Ely. In this year the two parishes were united by Act of Parliament, and the patronage became alternate. About the year 1808 or 1809 the church of St. Mary was struck by lightning, and was supposed to have become unsafe. This proved, however, to be untrue, for as time went on the crack in the masonry which had excited apprehension turned out to be superficial only, and the old walls were so solid and compact that the authorities of that day were glad to accept an offer for their purchase and leave them

standing. There is much that is interesting in the parish, —with its hamlet of Reach,—once a city, and preserving its fair, granted by royal charter, to this day. The remains of three of its reputed seven churches have disappeared, but in the case of two of them within living memory, while the eastern wall and window of the third is still standing. Tradition carries the place back to the time of the Danes, who are said to have had a strong colony at Reach, and it is further believed that they made at a certain time a raid upon the neighbouring town of Burwell, and sacked and burnt the place, and succeeded in retreating with their plunder behind the rampart of the Devil's Dyke, which they had cut through for the purpose. The cut through the ditch is still visible, though much grown up, and is called by the name of Brokeditch. Of the Devil's Dyke itself nothing is known positively. The old wives' fable in this case has it that it was thrown up along its entire length of seven miles in a single night, but by whom or against whom is not mentioned. When the railway from Cambridge to Mildenhall was cut through it, some Roman remains were discovered, portions of amphoræ and a coin, possibly of the date of Constantine, and what appear to be portions of harness iron.—The next halting place was at the Devil's Ditch, where Professor Babington delighted his audience by a recital and criticism of the various theories propounded as to the origin of the "Ditch," special stress being laid on the fact that it must have been an insuperable barrier to herds of cattle in its original condition. After this Burwell was soon reached. The church of St. Mary was first visited, and here Canon Cocksbott drew attention to the chief points in the history and architecture of this magnificent church so interesting to members of the University. Besides the grand proportions of the sacred edifice, the points of chief importance are the Saxon work in the tower and Norman windows in the west wall, the remains of a former church in the south wall, on the north wall an old figure of St. Christopher in fresco, showing that the same architect and workmen who built King's College Chapel also built Burwell Church. From St. Mary's the Society was conducted to the remains of the ancient castle, the following account of which was kindly given by Dr. Lucas, of Burwell: Is a structure of very remote antiquity, being built many years before the Conquest; it was stated by some that it was built for the support of the rampart, called Reach Ditch, Divalier's Ditch, or, commonly, the Devil's Ditch, particularly as a corresponding tower existed at Cowlinge End; situated as the Burwell Tower is, only about a mile to the east of the before-mentioned rampart, and having all the belongings of a regular castle, it would furnish all the requirements, either for offensive or defensive wars. The Kings of East Anglia, having also a house or palace at Exning or Landwade, where they frequently came to enjoy the sport of hawking, might look upon this tower as one of the strongholds, and certainly it was a very strong place, as the remains of earthworks, etc., show. These consist of an oblong mound, 80 paces long by 50 wide (probably the keep), surrounded by a deep top and earth, thrown up in a regular order of earth fortifications, forming scarp and counterscarps. There are also traces of an outer ditch, with banks, which has been thrown down to fill up with: these depres-

sions on the north-east corner terminate abruptly, and seem to point to this place being the entrance to the castle grounds; here, also, probably, the castellated gateway stood, as in the memory of some old inhabitants very large heaps of rubbish existed, particularly on the south-east corner, corresponding to that on the north-east. So high were they that from the top of the hill one might see beyond and over the cottages; a large house built near had its windows open to the east because of this hill. The present road is probably the original road, but continued on towards Exning Church by a road obliterated at the time of the enclosure, and called Foxlow. The road to Swaffham seems to be made in the fosses. There are numerous mounds within the enclosure of the outer fosse, as if buildings many and various had existed. This church is contained within this space. The place seems to have been kept up by the Abbot of Ramsey, the Lord of the Manor for many years. Geoffrey de Mandeville, the first Earl of Essex, being outlawed and having a quarrel with the abbot, besieged this Castle, was shot in the head by an arrow and killed; some Knights Templars being present threw over him a cloak of their order, enclosed him in a leaden pipe, and hung him on an apple-tree in the Temple gardens, where he remained for some years. Subsequently a dispensation was obtained from the Pope, and he was buried in the Temple, where his tomb is still shown. This took place in the reign of Stephen.

Durham and Northumberland Archæological Society.—Aug. 28th.—A second excursion this year into the South Durham district bordering on the Tees took place. A considerable number of gentlemen, headed by Canon Greenwell, proceeded first to Gainford Church, which is an object of great interest to archæologists, being built about 1200 A.D., and containing, as it does, many ancient crosses and Saxon and Norman remains, the sculpture of the former being in some cases in a wonderful state of preservation. Canon Greenwell and Mr. Hodges gave an historical and archæological history of Gainford and the church and the architecture, and different objects of interest were carefully inspected. On leaving the church, the interesting old building, Gainford Hall, of the seventeenth century, was also visited. From Gainford a move was made to Haughton-le-Skerne for the purpose of inspecting the church there, which has many features of great interest. The main parts of the structure are of pre-Reformation date, but there are many older portions of Norman and Saxon times. Canon Greenwell gave a history of Haughton and the church, and the party inspected the building, including an old oak gallery built by Bishop Butler, author of the *Analogy*, who was rector of Haughton.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Aug. 27th.—Rev. Dr. Bruce presiding.—Mr. T. Hodgkin (secretary) drew attention to a complete suit of Japanese armour which had been presented to the society by Mr. Blechynden.—Among the objects exhibited to the meeting was the famous "Salmon Ring," lent by the Rev. W. Paley Anderson. The ring, the Chairman explained, was the same that was dropped into the river Tyne by Mr. F. Anderson, an ancestor of the exhibitor, and afterwards found in a salmon which was served up at Mr. Anderson's very

table. Mr. Hodgkin remarked that there was an exactly parallel story told by Herodotus of Polycratus the tyrant of Samos. Polycratus had been so absolutely fortunate in everything he undertook that he was advised by a philosopher to sacrifice some most favourite object to Nemesis. He accordingly threw into the sea a beautiful seal, and before the philosopher had left his court a fisherman brought to Polycratus a large fish, in which, on being cut open, was found the seal. At this the philosopher prophesied that sooner or later he would meet with some great catastrophe, which in time became verified. There was also a story told of a Venetian fisherman who found a ring in a fish, but it was slightly different from that respecting Mr. Anderson's ring.—The Rev. J. R. Boyle exhibited an early fifteenth century missal, on parchment.—Mr. R. Blair (secretary) read two letters from Mr. Hawkins, of Gateshead, drawing attention to the bridge over the Spittle Dene between Preston and Tynemouth, which was interesting on account of its age, and to the bridge over the Teams between Lamesley Church and the old mill, which was remarkable for the way in which the difficulty of crossing a stream obliquely was overcome at a time when oblique arches were not understood. He advised the members to see both structures.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.—Aug. 19—20th.—The thirty-ninth annual meeting, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn in the chair.—On Tuesday an excursion was made up the left bank of Bala Lake to Castell Cornodochan. The Rev. W. Hughes, the local secretary, read a paper, in which he referred to the leading objects of the day's excursion—Caergai, Castell Cornodochan, and Llanwchllyn Church. The parish of Llanwchllyn was one of much archaeological interest, not the least point in which was that the historical river Dee rose in it under the hill called Duallt, and not at Pantgwn, as was sometimes supposed. No river in the kingdom presented a more fertile source for archaeological research than the Dee. The poet Spenser put the scene of King Arthur's home at the foot of the Aran and on the banks of the source of the Dee. There was a place on the spot in the parish of Llanwchllyn called "Llys Arthur"—Arthur's Court. Spenser, in his *Fairie Queene*, makes Arthur speak of his foster-father, who is supposed to have lived at Caergai. Caergai, the next place of interest in the day's excursion, was described by Mr. Hughes. Camden said it was at one time a castle built by one Caius, a Roman, while the Britons ascribed it to Gui, foster-father of Arthur, which seemed to be the view adopted by Spenser. In that case, Caergai would be a British and not a Roman fort. Pennant, however, favoured the theory that it was a Roman fort, and mentioned the discovery of many coins there. Roman tiles had been found in abundance about the houses and fields, and round bricks may be seen now, probably the remains of hypocaust pillars. Traces also remained of an old Roman pond diverging towards Mons Hririthrough Pyrsam, Castell-y-Wann, Mvel Strodyd, Cwm Prysor, and Lwm Helen. Castell carn Dochan, the next place of interest, was described as occupying an imposing situation on a precipitous projection of Ifud-helyg-y-Moch. The ruins form an inner parallelogram, 24 feet by 20 feet, with

walls 6 feet thick, defended by a wall of loose stones and other walls. The bare walls simply remain, and there are no architectural details. The portion now exposed probably formed the dungeon and cellars of an old fort, perhaps a fortress in times of trouble. The excursion of Wednesday produced important results in new discoveries which are worthy of record. Two Roman mounds of observation or defence, were set down in the programme, the first being Tomen y Mur (Mons Heriri), a short distance from Maentwrog. This is a very conspicuous tumulus within a large parallelogram, formed of a strong vallum and ditch. On both sides of the tumulus another strong vallum has been thrown up, dividing it into two equal parts. The approach to this is well guarded by lines of defence, and in one portion a section of Roman paved way, four yards in width, has been hit upon. At a distance of a few hundred yards to the north-east, and near a point where two Roman roads cross each other, is a very fine amphitheatre, nearly circular, the distance north and south being 114 feet, and east and west 104 feet. These have before been noticed, and have been described in *Archæologia Cambrensis*; but on the present occasion much more was discovered, the Rev. Canon Thomas having personally made a prior investigation leading to important results. An extensive square (120 yards across), with a well-marked vallum on the east and a sharp dip on the south, forms the main portion of this part, but to the east and south of it are evident traces of considerable buildings, sufficient to prove that a very important and extensive station once occupied the spot. A covered way to the water supply was shown both on the east and on the south, and a line of much wider circumference was shown to have enclosed various parts of the area. A hypocaust and some Roman urns have been found near. After this Rhiwgoch was visited, a fine old mansion, now appropriated as a farmhouse. It is in a very dilapidated condition, but possesses some curious features, the chief of which are an old gatehouse, banqueting hall, and some bedrooms, with a great amount of carved panelling. The following inscription is over the gatehouse:—"Sequere justiciam et vitam invincas." On the same stone is a family shield of arms between the Cornish choughs. The next item in the programme was the inspection of a remarkable monumental stone in the centre of a meadow, with an inscription which has been a fruitful source of controversy. This is "Bedd Porius," or the tomb or grave of Porius, in the middle of a field about a mile and a half from Trawsfynydd. The stone lies horizontally on short supports, and is protected by other flat stones. Another remarkable stone at Llanelltyd also came under observation. The stone was discovered in 1876 among some *debris* from an out-building near the Church of Llanelltyd, having been removed from a neighbouring cottage, where for an indefinite period it had been used as a washing-stone. The length is 37 inches, and the width from 17 inches to 11 inches, thickness 8 inches. A rough drive down the valley of the Mawddach brought the party to the ruins of Cymnir Abbey, which lie hidden amidst trees, and which form part of the buildings of a farmhouse. This is much prized as the only abbey situate within

the county of Merioneth. After a short look in at Llantysilio Church, Valle Crucis Abbey was reached by eleven o'clock. This venerable ruin, like other Cistercian buildings, is most picturesquely situated in a deep hollow by the side of a brawling brook, now shrunk to its smallest dimensions, amidst the Berwyn Mountains. It is a restored ruin—i.e., its broken parts have been gathered and placed as near as may be *in situ*, the floor of the abbey presenting now a smooth greensward. Broken columns of the nave have been placed *in situ*, and memorials of the dead pieced together. The accumulated dirt and rubbish of centuries have been cleared away.

[We are compelled to postpone our reports of the meetings of the Archaeological Association at Tenby, Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Hull Literary Club.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Fondness for Antiquities by Ancient Greeks and Romans.—The ancient Greeks and Romans were very fond of antiquities, and used to look upon them as sacred, and a very great ornament of their houses and palaces. They, therefore, adorned the vestibules and porches of their temples, halls, etc., with armour, weapons, trophies, statues, urns, tables, and inscriptions, etc. Several countries and cities were rendered famous by them; and though they have most of them been destroyed long since by carelessness and a too great neglect of such holy relics, yet Tully himself tells us (in verrem) that of old time they were so fond of them that "nulla unquam civitas tota Asia et Græcia Signum ullum, tabellam pictam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis, sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit," etc.—Bliss's *Reliquie Hæarnianæ*, vol. i., p. 261.

An Ancient Mode of obtaining Husbands.—Nisbet mentions a fashion formerly prevalent in Spain, which certainly ranks under the category of curiosities of heraldry. Single women frequently divided their shield per pale, placing their paternal arms on the sinister side, and leaving the dexter blank for those of their husbands, as soon as they should be so fortunate as to obtain them. This, says Nisbet, "was the custom for young ladies that were resolved to marry." (*Essay on Armories*, p. 70.) The arms were called "Arms of Expectation." See Lower's *Curiosities of Heraldry*, p. 38.

London Pleasures in 1730-35.—Covent Garden from the year 1730 to 1735 was a scene of much dissipation, being surrounded with taverns and night-houses. This, and the vicinity of Clare Market, were the rendezvous of most of the theatrical wits, who were composed of various orders. The ordinaries of that day were from 6d. to 1s. per head; at the latter there were two courses, and a great deal of what the world calls good company, in the mixed way. There were private rooms for the higher order of wits and noblemen, where much drinking was occasionally used. The butchers of Clare Market, then very numerous, were staunch friends to the players; and on every dread of riot or disturbance in the house, the

early appearance of these formidable critics made an awful impression.—*Antiquary's Portfolio*, vol. ii., 386.

Learning of the Ancients.—"It is very remarkable to consider the methods by which the ancients acquired their great learning. Printing not being in use, they were forced very often to travel into other countries if they desired the advantage of any book. And where there were no books they were obliged to make use of old stones, on which inscriptions and figures were engraved. Pythagoras travelled into Egypt and stayed there many years before he could be admitted to a knowledge of their mysteries. But then he returned a most complete scholar and philosopher. For aught I know he might understand all those inscriptions which are reported to have been upon one of the pyramids. But then that which made the ancients the more ready and expert was the arts they used to strengthen their memories. When they were particularly in love with any book, they not only read it over and over, but would be at the pains of transcribing it several times. Demosthenes was such an admirer of Thucydides that he writ him over eight times with his own hand. We have other instances of the same nature. It was also for this reason that the late Dr. H. Aldrich used often to transcribe the authors he read, especially when he was to print anything. Now such care being taken by the ancients, it is heartily to be wished that we had those transcripts of the books, which were made by their own hands; because those must certainly be correct, though it must be allowed that other transcripts made by scribes were in those times likewise correct, being examined by learned men themselves."—Bliss's *Reliquie Hæarnianæ*, ii. 85.



Obituary.

Mr. Henry George Bohn.—Died August 22nd, aged eighty-eight.—The father of the deceased, Mr. John Henry Martin Bohn, learned the art of book-binding in his native country, Germany, in Westphalia; but alarmed by the progress of the French revolution, he sought refuge in this country, and settled in Soho, then, as now, the foreign quarter of the metropolis, and commenced business at 31, Frith Street, in 1795. His son Henry took an intelligent, active interest in the business, and as soon as the Napoleonic wars were over, and the Continent open, he went abroad, picking up in Holland and in Germany hosts of valuable books, which, purchased abroad for shillings, sold for as many pounds in this country.

In 1831, he married Elizabeth, only child of Mr. William Simpkin, of the firm of Simpkin, Marshall & Co., and the same year commenced business on his own account at No. 4, York Street, Covent Garden, in the house previously occupied by a classical bookseller, Mr. J. H. Bohte. In the catalogue which he issued he gave as a reason for commencing business the disappointment he felt at finding that, after so many years' labour in building

up his father's business, room could not be found for him with a share in the profits. By some means he during the next ten years collected one of the largest assortments of books ever brought together; and, more marvellous still, they were all catalogued, and when the catalogue appeared it fairly took the world by storm.

In 1845, Mr. David Bogue, of Fleet Street, commenced the publication of the "European Library," to be composed of standard works, English and Foreign. His first volume was the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, edited by William Hazlitt. This was one of the books of which Mr. Bohn had the remainder. It was out of copyright; but there was also another volume of "Illustrations," some of which Hazlitt "conveyed" into his edition. Bohn not only moved the Court of Chancery and obtained an injunction against Bogue, but commenced the publication of a rival "Standard Library." The announcement of the first volume of this series, which was to be called "Henry Bohn's Standard Library," stated that "The undertaking had been forced upon him by the prospect of having some of his best copyrights infringed by a cheap serial publication. Holding, as he did, many of the most valuable literary properties, he saw the propriety of taking into his own hands the republication of them in a popular and attractive form. The best French, German, and Italian authors, by translators of undoubted talent, would be included, and the whole produced at a price which nothing but the extraordinary march of printing, and the present demand for cheap books, would render possible."

Mr. Bohn's exertions, says the *Bookseller*, were enormous; he pushed the books in all directions: his travellers placed them at every bookseller's; the public became interested and purchased them, and, no doubt contrary to the publisher's own expectations, they became a very valuable property. Then followed the "Extra Volumes"—in 1847, the "Scientific" and the "Antiquarian" Libraries; in 1848, the "Classical"; in 1849, the "Illustrated"; in 1850, the "Shilling Series"; in 1851, the "Ecclesiastical"; in 1852, the "Philological"; and in 1853, the "British Classics"; and when he disposed of them, they numbered in all about 500 volumes. The service rendered to the community was immense. The best literature in the English and other languages was placed within the reach of all classes.



Antiquarian News.

During the present renovations and cleaning of St. Peter's Church, Sudbury, the remains of an ancient fresco over the chancel arch have been rediscovered. Thirty years ago the painting in question was found under layers of whitewash, and Mr. Gainsborough Dupont, one of the churchwardens, was desirous of its preservation and restoration. But it was found to be too far gone, only a central and two side figures being partially visible, and the fresco was again coloured over. It represented "The Doom," or the last judgment.

The dispersion of collections of art work is being apparently followed up by the sale of properties remarkable for historic or antiquarian features. The sales of the island of Herm and of Boscastle, in Cornwall (both of which were abortive), are to be succeeded by two others of a still more remarkable character. The one is the extensive ruins of Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire, celebrated for its splendid Norman keep, built by Robert Fitz Ranulph, and famous as the stronghold of Warwick, the King-maker, and as the favourite residence of his son-in-law, Richard III. The fine appearance of the keep has, however, been considerably interfered with by the decorated buildings which surround it, and which were erected in the fifteenth century by Robert Neville, "the Peacock of the North." Many of the scenes in *The Last of the Barons* were laid at Middleham.—The second sale is that of Goodrich Court and Castle, which for picturesque effect is one of the most beautiful and attractive localities in the scenery of the Wye. Goodrich Court was, in Sir Samuel Meyrick's time, noted for its unrivalled collection of mediæval armoury. The mansion itself is a restoration by the late Mr. Blore. The castle, of which the principal remaining features are the gateway, a three-storied Norman keep, and an Edwardian banquetting hall, was successively the residence of the Earls of Pembroke and the Talbots, and later on stood a gallant siege under Sir Henry Ling, who held it for the king against the Parliamentary army.

A human relic of Pompeii has been discovered among the ruins in an exceptionally well-preserved state. It is the full-length fossil of a man who was probably struck while in flight at the time of the destruction of the city, upwards of eighteen centuries since.

A discovery of high interest has been made at a place called Port Bara, on the coast of Morbihan. A large and lofty grotto, the entrance to which had hitherto completely escaped notice, owing to its being blocked up with stones of great size, has been discovered. Excavations were made at low tide, and several human skeletons of both sexes were found, together with earthenware vessels of various shapes and sizes, flint weapons, bracelets and rings in bronze, several objects in oxidised iron, and two coins, appearing to be of the Gallic period.

The workmen employed on the excavations at Alnwick Abbey made a discovery of a "stone coffin" in the chapter-house of that place, which is supposed to have belonged to one of the De Vescy, or Percy, family, of whom several were interred in the Abbey or in the conventual church. In the *Cronica Monasterij de Alnewyke* it is mentioned that William de Vescy, son of the founder, Eustace Fitz-John, died (most probably in the abbey) in 1184, and was buried beside his wife, Burga, before the door of the chapter-house, having become a monk before he died.

On the Yorkshire Wolds a number of entrenchments have been found by the Rev. E. M. Cole, vicar of Wetwang-with-Fimber, Yorkshire, the latter village being completely surrounded by them. In one near the monument to Sir Tatton Sykes at Garston were a large number of dead bodies. The entrenchments are V-shaped, and are supposed to be the work of the Ancient Britons.

Near the figure of the White Horse, in Berkshire, the steam-plough has lately turned up fragments of tiles, bricks, and pottery. Mr. Dudgeon, steward to the Earl of Craven, accordingly instituted a systematic search, and several fine tessellated pavements were soon unearthed. Some skeletons, apparently of men slain in battle, were next found, one of a young man more than six feet long, on which were two Saxon daggers. Among other skeletons were those of a woman and a boy. All are believed to be of the Saxon age.

A partial restoration of All Saints' Church, Pavement, York, is in progress. The work consists of the renewal of the pinnacles on the nave and chancel, the entire replacing of the upper portion of the open tracery parapets between them by new masonry, and the restoration of the pinnacles at each corner of the octangular tower. The decay of the stonework and the unsafety of those parts of the edifice have rendered the restoration necessary. The church is in the Perpendicular style of architecture, of which it is a neat specimen, having several interesting features which have not escaped the notice of local historians who have written about the City of Churches. All Hallows, as it is commonly called, before the Conquest belonged to the Prior and Convent of Durham, and at the Reformation it reverted to the Crown. According to that eminent authority on such matters, Drake, the fabric was partly built out of the ruins of Eboracum. In 1835, however, the whole structure underwent a complete restoration, and in 1837 the tower was rebuilt after the same design as before. The church narrowly escaped destruction when many buildings in High Ousegate were burnt down in a conflagration which occurred in 1694. The tower is an exquisite piece of Gothic architecture, the top being finished lantern-wise and tradition records how a lamp once hung in it, the light from which served to guide travellers in their passage over the great forest of Galtres to York. The present tower is said to have been built about 400 years ago. There were four chantries in the church, Acaster's, Belton's, and two others. Both Torre and Drake have given a close catalogue of the rectors. We read that Robert Craggs was presented on the 28th of October, 1544, by Henry VIII., but afterwards deprived, and William Peacock was presented by Queen Mary. In January 1585, the church of St. Peter the Little was united to All Saints. There are some interesting monuments in the church which have been well described by Torre, Drake, and Gent, Drake also giving a view of the edifice. In Gent's days the highest roof was clouded in imitation of the sky, and there were then three large bells and one small one. The register books commence in the year 1554.

The restoration of the great north door of Westminster Abbey is rapidly advancing towards completion. The sculpture is very elaborate, and has occupied the workmen many months.

Among the later additions to the Health Exhibition where Old London is reproduced is a collection of views and etchings of Old Southwark, shown by Mr. Drewett, in the Guard Chamber over the Bishop's Gate. Old London Bridge, as it appeared in the time of Henry VIII., and at several periods since until its demolition, may here be seen, as well as some of the

historic buildings of Southwark, Winchester Palace, etc., and its famous hostels, the old Tabarde and the White Hart, of which the picturesque characteristics have been preserved in etchings by Mr. Thomas. Some reproductions of old maps and a small collection of pottery, weapons, and coins found in the borough of Southwark, and most of them during the progress of excavations on the site of the old Tabarde Inn, should not be passed unnoticed. The rooms over the workshops on the north side of the Old London street at the exhibition have been filled with furniture of antique form, and the walls hung with tapestries from the Royal Tapestry Works at Windsor. Along the south side a very fine collection of armour, arms, and ancient and mediæval ironwork has been arranged by Messrs. Starkie Gardner, among the contributors being Lady Dorothy Nevill, Sir Coutts Lindsay, the Rev. Canon Harford, Mr. J. G. Litchfield, and Mr. J. E. Gardner.

A few of the Abertarff relics, the sale of which began at Inverness on Wednesday, Aug. 6th, may be mentioned. Of Simon, Lord Lovat, there were a bust in plaster of the year 1745, and a plaster cast of his face, taken after his execution in the next year; there were also wax casts of Lady Lovat and of Simon's youngest daughter; with various portraits of Lord Lovat at different periods of his life, a half-length portrait of Flora Macdonald, and a picture of Frederick the Great, presented by Marshal Keith to the Hon. Arch. Fraser. Other articles of interest in connection with Lord Lovat were his massive walking-stick, a pair of pistols presented by the French king, the watch he wore (by a French maker), a silver tankard adorned with the ducal coronet with which he was to be rewarded, and an old oak chest, furnished liberally with secret drawers.

The next great book sale will be in December, when the library of Sir John Thorold, now at Syston Hall, will come to the hammer. It is particularly strong in early printed books.

The explorations at Roche Abbey are being actively continued. Many large sections of the mullions and of the tracery work of the east window have been discovered. Perhaps the most important discovery which has recently been made is that of a sink, about two feet square, for the disposal of the surplus holy water. It is thought that this is the only sink of its kind which has been found in a church of the same order. The efforts of the explorers are now being directed to the site of the chapter-house, which adjoined the church on the south side, and it is hoped that the tombs of at least some of the abbots may be found there. Already the outlines of the walls of the chapter-house have been exposed to view, and many specimens of beautifully carved stonework have been discovered, as well as a piscina, which is supposed to have been used in the adjacent Lady Chapel. On the south side of the chancel some hitherto concealed doorways have been re-opened.

The Fayum papyri are yielding further treasure. Much information has been obtained from the Greek ones regarding the chronology of the Roman emperors. They show that Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Annus Verus reigned together. The length of the joint rule of Caracalla and Geta is determined by them.

Of the Arab MSS. fifteen belong to the first century from the Hegira. A new system of cipher has been discovered among the Arab private letters.

There are still standing in Canton Vaud, at Gourze, Moudon, and Molière, three towers, belonging to the times in which *la royale filandière*, "Good Queen Bertha, span," besides the tower at Neuchâtel. They were all originally constructed for defence, for neither of them has any exit for attack, and the doors are about ten feet above the ground, so that they must have been entered by ladders. The old "Tower of Queen Bertha," which has stood for nearly a thousand years at Moudon, the Roman *Minodunum*, or *Minnidunum*, has just been examined by the architect of the cantonal board of works, who reports that it must be at once restored or lowered by several feet. This mighty building threatens to fall, and is a source of danger to the neighbouring houses.

About two years ago Captain Hope purchased Cowdenknowes at Earlistoun, and, during the short time he has been in it, he has done more to restore the original ancient character than any of his predecessors. This old baronial tower seems to have undergone some change when the present mansion was built, as they both bear the same date, 1584. Mary Queen of Scots occupied it for a short time when visiting the Scottish Marches. There is a room which still bears her name. It has now been substantially repaired, under-built, re-roofed, and painted in a style preserving the character of the old masonry, which is different from that of the mansion.

Much attention has been given of late years to the registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, London, which was founded by letters patent of King Edward VI., dated 1550. These registers, which are complete from 1571, contain very many entries concerning the numerous families in this country, descended from the religious refugees from the Netherlands, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which may be sought for in vain elsewhere. An edition of these registers, limited to three hundred copies, will be published by Mr. W. J. C. Moens.

The musical library of Julian Marshall, Esq., was sold by auction at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, on July 29th and two following days. The entire collection consisted of 1339 lots, among which were many books of the greatest rarity. A goodly number of the choicest books were purchased for the British Museum. Mr. W. H. Cummings and Mr. J. E. Matthews secured many rare gems, as also did Mr. W. Reeves of Fleet Street, the well-known dealer in musical antiquarian works, no less than 496 lots falling to his share. Among the rarer works were Elwy Bevan's *Instruction of the Art of Musick*, 1631; J. Croce, *Septem Psalmi penitenciales sex Vacuum*, 1599; Carey's *Musical Century*, 1739-40; Couperin, *Pièces de Clavecin*, 1713; Frescobaldi, *Tocate*, 1637; Gafori, *Practica Musica*, 1496; D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719-20; Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can*, 1652; Locke, *Melothesia*, 1673; Locke, *Vocal Musick in Psyche*, 1675; Ravenscroft, *Melismata*, 1611; Scarlatti, *Essereize per Gravcembalo*; Warren's *Thirty-two Collections of Canons, Catches, and Glee*s.

The new railway excavations at Winchester, through the western face of St. Giles's Hill, have revealed some *scitilia* of Roman times, namely, some vases of elegant shape and three in number, whilst there was found also a handsome cinerary urn. These interesting objects are in the possession of Mr. Scott, of the engineering staff, a gentleman who exercises a beneficial influence over "finds," and thoroughly appreciates their value and interest. The vases are small, and were possibly used for domestic purposes by the Roman or Romano-British owners. One is of the red lustrous ware made in Gaul, and imported here in considerable quantities. It is a circular vase, rising from a small base to a funnel shape, and the potter's mark is on the inside of the base. The two other vessels are of dark grey or Upchurch ware; one of them hexagonal and ornamented with six hollows, such as a finger would make before the vessel was put in the kiln, and the other is globular shaped and elegantly decorated with a notched band below the neck. Thanks to Mrs. Scott's artistic restoration, the vessels may be called perfect.

The churchwardens of Lambeth Church have removed the stained glass window commemorative of the Pedlar who endowed the parish with the lands known as "Pedlar's Acre." Surely no such act of folly has been done in the way of church spoliation for some time. Next month we propose to give an account of the far-famed Lambeth Pedlar, and we hope to be able to announce the restoration of the old window.

Correspondence.

FRENCH COINS.

I should be obliged by some precise information as to a French copper piece of the First Revolutionary period, in my possession. It is of the size of an old English halfpenny, and is highly preserved. On the obverse occurs a portrait of Bonaparte, the features remarkably spare, but the hair less cropped than at a somewhat later date, with the legend BONAPARTE, 1^{er} CONSUL. The reverse has L'AN. . X. in a wreath, and the legend PROCÈDE DE GENÈBRE MECⁿ. DES MONNⁿ. Is this a coin, a token, or a medal? The piece appears, so far as I can see, to be interesting, if not important, as exhibiting the earliest published likeness of the great Napoleon. I do not think that the regular coinage bore his portrait till the eleventh year of the Republic (1803). This portrait differs altogether from the 1803 currency, which I have seen.

W. CAREW HAZLITT.

Barnes Common, May 16.

A "BLACK JACK."

I enclose a copy of a lid to a Black Jack, which was found in Middlegate Street in this town, on the pulling down of some houses, the rear of which formed part

of a monastery known as the Grey Friars or Minorites. Halliwell gives us "the Black Jack," and to quote his own words it was a large leather can, formerly in use for small beer. The Unton Inventories in the "Butterie inn one plate cubbard, iij. bynnes, two table bordes, one covering basket, iij. dozen of trenchers, iiij. tynne (tin) salte sellars, xiiij. tynne candlesticks, viii. *Black Jacks*—one flagon of tynne—and one joynd stole praised at 1s." See *Unton Invent.*, Berkshire Ashmolean Society, MDCCCLII.—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii., 206, informs you that the French, seeing the English at that time, "reported home that they drank beer out of their boots," or as Taylor has it in his *Workes*, 1630, i., 113 :—

"Nor of Black Jacks at gentle Buttry bars,
Whose liquor oftentimes breeds household wars."

Thus I give you that which has come to my possession by a heelball rubbing; the words are on the obverse :—

"If you | love me | looke | within | me."

It then turns by a thumb tilt, when you see this :—

"Ha Ha | knave | have I = Sp I D—THE."

P. PROCTOR BURROUGHS.

DIARIES OF NATHANIEL HONE.

[*Ante*, vol. ix., p. 244.]

With reference to the paper on Hone Diaries, in your June No., I think it may be of interest to some of your readers to know that I have an original MS. genealogy of Mr. Nathaniel Hone, dated 1729—commencing thus :

The Genealogy and Ensignes Armorial of Mr. Nathaniel Hone, of y^e lineal descent of Sir John Hone, who was knited by King Henry y^e 8th, in y^e 16th year of his reign, as Sir Thomas Hawley, who was principal Herald and King-at-Arms of England, in y^e aforesaid years, gives an account of in his antient annals, transmitted to me by my ancestors, who were successively Chief Antiquaries of Ireland, therefore Charles Linagar having the said transcripts or true copies thereof, have from thence drawn out the following Antiquity of the above said Mr. Nathaniel Hone, as a memorial to his posterity, his genealogy faithfully extracted from the root whence sprang his worthy ancestors, A.D. 1729.

(Signed)

CHARLES LINAGAR.

Then follows the genealogy, etc.—I should be glad if any of your readers could throw any light on Hone's family history.

NATHANIEL J. HONE.

SILCHESTER v. CALLEVA.

(viii., 39, 85, 134; x., 86.)

Mr. Napper admits that Silchester is identical with *Caer Segont*, I and others affirm it to be *Calleva*, and he does not tell us why this village may not have borne two diverse names in former ages.

It is no unusual thing for towns to have names in

duplicate. Thus several European towns have names in French and German; others in German and Slavonic; numerous towns in India have Dravidian, Sanskrit, and Semitic names, arising from the intermingling of races; take Constantinople, which is also *Stamboul* and was *Byzantium*; even so *Berkshire* and *Hants* have been graced by various speech-founding tribes.

Finally, if the tablet to a Segontian Hercules is held to prove that *Caer Segont* was *Calleva*, the iters as clearly prove that *Calleva* is *Silchester*.

A. HALL.

Aug. 1st, 1884.

Mr. Napper is in error in supposing that the *Silchester* inscriptions are not of the time of *Septimius* (not *Septimus*) *Severus*. They can in no way relate to the personage he suggests. If he will refer to the chief towns of Gaul, he will find that many of their names are not from the Roman appellations, but from the peoples; *ex. gr.* *Lutetia* gave way to *Civitas Parisiorum*. It was not so much so in Britain, and *Canterbury* is almost an exception. But there is no reason whatever why *Calleva* should not also be called *Civitas Segontiorum* or *Caer Segont*. I suggest that, as probably some few of the Society of Antiquaries will, this autumn, pursue researches at *Silchester*, they be guided by Mr. Napper to *Calvepit*. I and others make no doubt that he has misread its character, and not fully seen the import of the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

F. S. A.

"POETS' CORNER."

[See *ante*, iv., 137.]

"Poets' Corner!—We could wish, most heartily, we knew the name of him who first gave this appellation to the south transept of the Abbey, and thus helped, most probably, to make it what it is—the richest little spot the earth possesses in its connection with the princes of song: such a man ought himself to have a monument among them." So writes Charles Knight, and I want the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* to join in a serious attempt to discover the author. I will venture to begin with a small contribution to the question. It was probably not known in Addison's time, or he would certainly have mentioned it in his celebrated paper in the *Spectator* (No. 26, March 30th, 1711). Had it been in vogue then he would surely have used it in preference to the bald phrase, "the poetical quarter," which he employs to designate the south transept when speaking of the tombs of the poets.

The expression was certainly well known in 1791, for it is mentioned in F. A. Wendeborn's *View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (vol. i., p. 311). There is a guide-book to the Abbey published about 1784, I think, and I remember looking through it in a cursory manner some time ago, but without finding anything about "Poets' Corner;" but I am writing from memory and cannot be certain. It ought not to be difficult to ascertain approximately the period when the expression became current, even if we are unable to determine the actual originator.

R. B. P.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Rogers' Italy and Poems, 2 vols., 4to. full morocco, by Hayday, belonged to the family of Rogers, has an autograph letter of Turner pasted in, plates on India paper, £12; a Horn Book, price £5; Turner's Views in England and Wales 1838, 2 vols., 4to, full tree calf, was bought in original parts at Turner's sale (price £20, in London catalogue), price £12 12s.; Humphrey's Clock, 3 vols., first edition, original emblematic cloth, £2 10s.; Walton and Cotton's Angler, 2 vols., imperial 8vo, Pickering, 1836, half morocco, by Hayday, £10; Hamerton's Etching and Etchers, 1868, rough uncut edges, very rare, £12, 1876 edition, uncut, £2 10s., 1880 edition, uncut, £5 5s.; Arabian Nights, 1839-41, 3 vols., Knight's edition, half bound, £3 3s.; Dickens' Five Christmas Books, first editions, red original cloth, rare and fine set, £6; Ruskin's Seven Lamps, fine copy, 1849, £6; Ruskin's Modern Painters, five vols., 1857-60, full calf, £20; Modern Painters, 1873, five vols., fine copy, original cloth, £20; Ingoldsby Legends, 3 vols., early edition, with author's visiting card and autograph letter inserted, £5, very interesting copy; Marryatt's Pottery and Porcelain, full morocco, fine copy, 1850, £1 12s.—266, care of Manager.

Magnificent large Antique Mirrors (carved frames), late property of a nobleman. Advertiser, private gentleman, wishes to correspond with a likely purchaser.—263, care of Manager.

Rare old Engravings, small private collection, for disposal, some exquisitely coloured, some proofs, including extremely fine coloured Morlands and Bartolozzis.—264, care of Manager.

The "Edwardus prius Anglie" sword, described as the "Armethwaite sword" by Mr. J. C. Earwaker, B.A., F.S.A., in a pamphlet on swords, published some years ago.—Apply to M. D. Penny, 15, High Street, Hull.

A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

Gray's Elegy, illustrated by Harry Fenn. Large paper edition. Only 50 copies printed. Offers requested.—119, care of Manager.

Old Latin Folios, several for sale or exchange.—Cheap list on application to E. W. Drury, 51, High Street, Hull.

Book Plates (*ex libris*) for sale at 3d. each (unless otherwise stated), as follows:—Tasker, Joseph, Middleton Hall, Essex; Taswell, Wm.; Taüt, N. C.; Rugby; Taylor, Thomas, M.D.; Teed, J. C.; Tennant, William, Aston Hall; Thomson, John Deas, commissioner of the navy; Thomson, Sir John Deas, K.C.B., F.R.L.S.; Torraine, William Harcourt;

Tower, Rev. Charles; Treacher, John; Treacher, Henry; Trotter, Alexander, Esq.; Turner, Charles, Henry; Turner, Rev. William Henry; Turner, William; Turner, William Henry; Van Sittart, Augustus Arthur; Ward, Charles A.; Ward, John Petty Hamilton; Ward, W., D.D.; Watts, John James, Hawkesdale Hall, Cumberland, Knight of Malta; Waugh, A., A.M.; Weale, Robert; Webb, N., 24, Portland Place; Webber, Rev. Charles; Whateley, John Welchman; Wheatley, Edward Balane; Wilton; Williams, David Williams, Joshua; Winterbotham, J.B.; Wintle, Thomas.—Post free. 3d. each, from Briggs and Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Tooting. (Letters only.)

Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine, large paper edition, price 21 s. Paul and Virginia with eight etchings in duplicate (50 copies only printed), bound in parchment, 25s. Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo calf, covers of one vol. damaged; London, printed by John Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5; very fine engraved title-page to each volume, and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as Douglas; book-plate of Francis Hartwell in each volume, 20s. Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse, 1474; a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L., forming part of the first issue of "The Antiquary's Library," 7s. 6d. Shakspeare as an Angler, by Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, M.A., vicar of Bitton, 1883, parchment, 10s. 6d.; very rare. Advice from a Mother to her Son and Daughter, written originally in French by the Marchioness de Lambert; done into English by a gentleman, MDCCXXIX, 18mo, calf, 1s. 6d. The Juvenile Forget-me-Not, edited by Mrs. Clara Hall; illustrated by fine engravings in steel, 2s. 6d. Œuvres de Monsieur de Boissy contenant, Soir, Théâtre François and Italien, Nouvelle édition, eight volumes old calf, with book plate of Princess Sophia. A. Amsterdam, etc., a Berlin Chez Jean Neaulme, Libraire, MDCLXVIII, 10s. The Bab Ballads, original edition, in paper boards, 2s. 6d.—191, care of Manager.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Book Plates purchased either in large or small quantities from collectors. No dealers need apply.—200, care of Manager.

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